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A HISTORY OF THE AKROPOLIS OF ATHENS.

[PLATES XV—XVIII.]

The basis of this "History of the Akropolis of Athens" was a paper read before the Royal Archæological Seminary of the University of Leipzig, in March, 1891. The kind words of the Director, Professor Overbeck, encouraged me to have it published. At the end of a year, during which it has lain untouched, I have taken it up again, worked the old material over and added some that is new.

I have dwelt at proportionally greater length upon the condition and development of the Akropolis before the Persian invasion and its history after the Peloponnesian War than upon the Akropolis in the times of Perikles. The earlier period seemed to me more important, because the facts concerning it are new; the later claimed more attention, because the facts are unfamiliar to the general reader. But regarding the age of Perikles, the appearance presented by the Akropolis in his day is, as Dorpfeld has said,¹ so fully and definitely known from the buildings preserved and from extant literature, that differences of opinion concerning it are impossible except on minor points. New discoveries and more exact investigations of existing monuments can

¹ *Mittheilungen Athen*, XII, p. 162.

make no essential changes in the picture familiar to every one that turns these pages.

But acquaintance with the condition of the Akropolis as it was before its desolation at the hands of the Persians and its renovation by Perikles is by no means so definite or so universal. It is true, we had known from literature that the Akropolis was adorned with temples, altars, votive gifts, etc., before the Persians came, but we have not been in a position to form any adequate conception of that earlier glory before the days of Kimon and Perikles. And even the little that we once thought to be incontrovertible fact—for example, that there once stood upon the site of the present Parthenon an older Parthenon built by Peisistratos—even that has proved to be an error. Accordingly I have gone back to those older times and endeavored to present in full outlines the picture upon which so much new light has been thrown by the recent excavations.

Throughout the essay it has been my main object to follow historically the architectural development of the Akropolis. And in dealing with the Akropolis I have confined myself as nearly as possible to the upper Akropolis; and the buildings that lie upon its slopes have been drawn into the narrative only when they stood in some immediate relation to the enclosure of the Akropolis proper, and even then they have received only a passing mention. The Dionysiac Theatre, the Odeion of Regilla, the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus, the Odeion of Perikles, the real Theseion, the Eleusinion—all these are locally connected with the Akropolis, but are nevertheless foreign to my subject, which deals only with what is enclosed by the walls about the citadel (1).

(1) I wish, above all things, to express my indebtedness to Dr. Dörpfeld, Director of the German Archæological Institute in Athens, for his kindness in permitting me to use both his private letters to me and his published articles in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts*. Next to Dr. Dörpfeld I have received most help from Michaelis' exhaustive work on the Parthenon, and from Wachsmuth's *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*. Two books, Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, and Hertzberg, *Athen*, I wish to say in advance, were unknown to me, except by name, until after my essay was entirely completed. If, therefore, similarities should be found between parts of my narrative and their's, it will be due, except where they are expressly quoted, to our having drawn from common sources, in the former instance, Dr. Dörpfeld; in the latter, Michaelis and Wachsmuth.

I.—THE FORM OF THE AKROPOLIS.

In the southern part of the precincts of ancient Athens there once rose up from the plain a rugged, chasm-torn rock—the last spur but one of the chain of hills that runs from Pentelikon to the southern coast of Attika. Its highest point was but 156.2 metres above the level of the sea, and less than 100 metres higher than the plain on which it stood. On the west side only did it offer a comparatively easy ascent. Everywhere else it fell precipitously to the plain with declivities more or less inaccessible. Of all the many hills that lay in and around Athens this was the only one with much of a surface on its summit, presenting as it did an area of 270 by 135 metres. Thus in its entire formation this rock seemed by nature designed for a fastness, and this destiny it fulfilled in becoming the most glorious fortress the world has ever seen—the Akropolis of Athens.

But the top of this hill was not always the smooth plateau that we now find it, but, as the excavations lately completed prove, everywhere a jagged, uneven, rocky surface, rough and rent with many fissures.

II.—THE FIRST SETTLEMENT.

Partly by hewing away the jags of rock and partly by filling up the chasms with stones and earth, the earliest inhabitants of Attika created on this uneven hilltop a number of smaller plateaus for their dwellings and sanctuaries. In a condition of society where universal warfare continually prevails, as we find it, according to Thukydides (I, 2) at the dawn of Greek history, the first settlements are necessarily made with a view to every possible advantage afforded by natural protection. They sought, not the highest hill, but the one that offered the broadest surface on its summit and had the steepest sides. Accordingly we should look to the Akropolis for the earliest inhabitants of the land. And here, in truth, they were; and the first settlement on the sacred rock of Athens dates back, as relics of the Stone Age found upon the Akropolis unquestionably prove, to an inconceivably remote period.² We

² ULRICH KÜHLER, in *Hermes*, VI, p. 105.

learn further from Thukydides³ and the common use of the word *πόλις* (city) elsewhere⁴—especially in Attic inscriptions⁵ that the citadel originally was “the city,” since by this word in its limited sense the Akropolis itself is officially designated. And before there was a “lower city,” there was no occasion for the word *Ἀκρόπολις* to distinguish an “upper” from a “lower town.”

III.—Πυκινὸς δόμος Ἐρεχθίδης. THE GOODLY HOUSE OF ERECHTHEUS.

But we need not confine ourselves to the evidence furnished by literature, for the spade has not long since settled the question beyond a peradventure. On the north side of the Akropolis about the Erechtheion (see plan of the Akropolis, PLATE XV) are now plainly to be seen the heavy foundation walls of a great royal palace. A number of apartments stretching one after the other from east to west may be distinguished, but just how far toward the south and west this palace extended cannot be determined, as the foundation walls in those directions were even in antiquity too far demolished. But as far as the outlines can be made out, the building that stood here corresponded exactly in material, in construction and in general arrangement with the similar royal residences in Tiryns, Mykenai and Ilion; and by analogy with these we may very justly infer that in Athens also a large part of the citadel was taken up by the palace of the ruling Prince.

Behind the palace, that is at its northeast corner, (AB, on PL. xv) a narrow stairway leads from the royal house down through a cleft in the rock artificially widened to receive it, under the present wall of the Akropolis and almost straight toward the quarter

³ II, 15, 3-6: τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου (i. e. the time of Theseus) ἡ Ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὐσα πόλις ἦν . . . τεκμήριον δὲ · τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἔστι [καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς] . . . καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτη κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ Ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις. “But before the time of Theseus, what is now called the Akropolis was the city: and a proof of it is that we find on the Akropolis itself the sanctuaries not only of Athena, but of other gods as well . . . And unto this day on account of its being anciently inhabited the Athenians still call the Akropolis ‘Polis’ (‘the City.’)”

⁴ Cf. PAUS. I, 26, 6: ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλει.

⁵ E. g. CIA. I 32 B, 4 and 10.⁶ 58, 11; II 11, 26; 20, 2; 42, 7; 45, 5; 85, 13; etc. After the middle of the first century B. C. this use of *πόλις* in inscriptions ceases.

called *κῆποι*—"the gardens;"—this little rear gateway may also, like the similar ones in Mykenai and Tiryns, have served for fetching water in time of need. It was, of course, entirely covered up in the fifth century by the building of the north wall of the Akropolis—the so-called wall of Themistokles. This little stairway, hewn in part out of the live rock, is scarcely at all different in its general plan and style of construction from that in Tiryns. The ancient palace on the Athenian Akropolis had, like the royal palaces at Tiryns and Mykenai, besides the main entrance in the west, a second approach from the side directly opposite. This second approach was, in each and every case, a narrow flight of steps, built in a half-hidden, secluded corner and in a steep place, accessible to foot-passengers only.

Furthermore, in the great court, which we find west of the Erechtheion (the place marked Pandroseion, on PL. xv), near the spot where that primeval, crooked, gnarly, old olive tree of Athena stood, was the altar of Zeus Herkeios⁶—the hearth and center of the state—at which the king, as the head of his tribe and father of the whole people, was wont to sacrifice. In the houses, the foundations of which we observe west of the Erechtheion (the walls colored green in our plan), we may perhaps recognize the habitations of the king's retainers, who must have dwelt in the closest proximity to their prince's palace. The altar of Zeus Polieus, too, erected by the first king, Kekrops, must have stood close by. Athena also had a sanctuary within the palace; and the theory has more than once been urged that it was the "old temple of Athena," discovered by Dörpfeld in 1885 (see PL. xv), with which we shall have to deal later on, that stood within the gates of this ancient palace.⁷ This hypothesis is based on two passages from Homer: the one where Athena, after accompanying Odysseus to the house of Alkinoös, left him at the doors and "came to Marathon and to wide-wayed Athens and entered the goodly house of Erechtheus."⁸ The *πυκινὸς δόμος* ("goodly house") is, as the words signify, not the Hekatompedon (the old temple between

⁶ PHILOCH., *ap.* DION. HAL., § 13 (frag. 146).

⁷ LOLLING, *Τὸ Ἑκατόμπεδον* ('Αθηνᾶ, 1890, reprint p. 17, note 1); DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XII. p. 26.

⁸ *Od.* VII, 80–81: ἔκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρύγυιαν Ἀθῆνην, δύνε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον κ. τ. λ.

the Erechtheion and the Parthenon), nor yet necessarily the common temple of Athena and Erechtheus, but the Erechtheid palace, and by implication that part of the Erechtheid palace occupied by the shrine of Athena. For, in the first place, *δόμος* in Homer never means "temple" unless accompanied by the adjective *ιερός* (sacred); and in the second place, *πυκινὸς δόμος* (goodly house) is Homer's standing epithet for royal palaces.⁹ But it is obvious that Athena came to Athens and entered the "goodly house of Erechtheus" for no other reason than that she had a sanctuary located within its gates and forming a part of it. But it is going too far to conclude from the passage quoted that her sanctuary occupied the same spot as either the Hekatompedon or the shrine of Athena in the Erechtheion. From this passage of the *Odyssey*, then, we learn only that Athena had a sanctuary within the royal palace on the Akropolis. The other passage from Homer, however, gives us more definite knowledge: "And they dwelt at Athens, a well-built town, the realm of the noble Erechtheus, whom once Athena, daughter of Zeus, reared up . . . and gave a place in her own rich temple at Athens."¹⁰ Now, although the poet in the first-quoted passage is evidently acquainted with the royal palace of the Erechtheids on the Akropolis, as even Aischylos¹¹ also is, in this second passage no "temple" can possibly be meant other than the complex sanctuary of Poseidon, Athena, and her foster son, Erechtheus, which was later called the Erechtheion, by way of distinguishing it from the other temple or temples of Athena Polias. She gives him a place in *her own* rich temple, that is, both are worshipped under one common roof; the conclusion is inevitable.

Near this most ancient sanctuary of Athena, the protecting goddess of the city, was the grave and heroön of Kekrops, the earth-born father of the Athenian people, and, in the popular tradition,

⁹ Cf. also *Od.* VI, 134; *Il.* x, 267; XIX, 335; etc.

¹⁰ *HM.*, *Il.* II, 546-549: οἱ δ' ἀρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐκτρίμενον προλλέθρον,
δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγάλῃτορος, δν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ
καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἶσεν ἐφ' ἐνὶ πτόνι νηῶ.

¹¹ *AISCH.*, *Eum.* 855: καὶ σὺ (the Eumenides) τιμῶν
ἔδραν ἔχουσα πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως.

their first king, after whom the city—that is, the Akropolis—was called “Kekropia.”¹² As in the case of all cultus heroes, the worship of Kekrops centered at his tomb; his worship, furthermore, was intimately connected with that of Zeus Herkeios and that of Athena Polias.¹³ As father of the race of the Kekropidai and king of Kekropia, he represents a definite epoch in Athenian story, an epoch older than that of the “Ionic” Erechtheus, with whose rise, furthered as it was by the Ionic epos, his former importance is lost. Erechtheus dwells as *μύχιος* (indweller) or as *ὄφης οἰκουρός* (the serpent keeping watch over her house) in the holy of holies of Athena’s temple.¹⁴ But Kekrops, who had been to Attika all that Erechtheus was and more, is set aside with a little space at the corner of that same temple and outside of it. Some interpreters, grossly perverting the words of Clemens Alexandrinus,¹⁵ have forced Kekrops also *into* her temple. Clemens does say indeed that in the temple of Athena at Larisa there was the tomb of Akrisios, but of Kekrops he asserts no more than that Antiochos says that “upon the Akropolis of Athens is the tomb of Kekrops,” while he does emphatically affirm of Erichthonios that he was buried in the temple of the Polias.¹⁶ Theodoretos,¹⁷ borrowing from the same source, adds that the tomb is *παρὰ τὴν πολιοῦχον αὐτήν* [beside (the temple of) the Polias herself]; while Arnobius,¹⁸ copying from Clemens and carelessly confusing the two statements of the latter, makes him say that *Athenis in Minervio Cecropem esse mandatum terræ* (that Kekrops was buried in the temple of Athena at Athens). The blunder is

¹² PLIN., *N. H.* VII, 56, 194: *oppidum Cecrops a se appellavit Cecropiam, quae nunc est arx Athenis*; and *Etym. Magn.*, p. 352, 54, s. v. *ἐπακρία χῶρα*. Moreover the name Kekropia is occasionally applied to the whole Attic land as well, which before had been called Akte; cf. APOLLON. III, 14, 1; *Mar. Par.* 1, 3.

¹³ PAUS. VIII, 2, 3; EUSEB., *Praep. ev.* x, 9, 22; *id.*, *Chron.* II, 24. 27.

¹⁴ Cf. IMMISCH, in ROSCHER'S *Mythol. Lex.* II, p. 1023.

¹⁵ *Protrept.* III, 45: *ἐν τῇ νεῤῃ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Λαρίσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκρίσιου, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος, ὡς φησὶν Ἀντίλοχος κ. τ. λ.*

¹⁶ *l. c.*: *τί δὲ Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῇ νεῤῃ τῆς Πολιάδος κικῆδεται*; Cf. APOLLON. III, 14, 7, 1: *Ἐριχθονίου . . . ταφέντος ἐν τῇ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς*.

¹⁷ *Graec. affect. cur.* VIII, 30, p. 115: *Καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν ὡς Ἀντίλοχος . . . ἀνω γε ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος ἐστὶ τάφος παρὰ τὴν πολιοῦχον αὐτήν*.

¹⁸ *Adv. nat.* VI, 6.

obvious. Besides, we have the best of testimony elsewhere to support the uncorrupted statement of Clemens: the inventories of the commission appointed to look into and report upon the condition of the new Erechtheion speak repeatedly of the "porch of the Korai" as being "next to the Kekropion."¹⁹ And there, at the southwest corner of the temple, in the remains of walls adjoining the hall of the Korai, the Kekropion is since the excavations clearly to be recognized.

With that same sanctuary of Athena Polias were closely connected the altar of Poseidon and those wonderful "signs" (*μαρτύρια*)—the salt spring and the sacred olive tree—witnesses of his strife with the goddess for the possession of the land. Here also Hephaistos was worshiped and here honors were paid to the serpent Erichthonios and to Pandrosos, his faithful nurse.

We must notice, however, that when we go back to Theseus and his father, Aigeus, tradition forbids us to think of them as occupying the royal residence that we have seen upon the Akropolis. One story, told by Kleidemos, makes Theseus dwell on the upper Ilissos; according to another, Aigeus has his abode not far from the Delphinion, and even in Plutarch's time the home of Aigeus was pointed out in that quarter.²⁰ There seems, then, to be no doubt that the residence of Aigeus and his son, who are foreign immigrants, and have, as Plutarch distinctly states,²¹ no connection whatever with the Erechtheids, was outside the city and that until after the "synoikismos" of Theseus they remained in some way entirely apart from the community that occupied the citadel. But from this time on we again find the Akropolis the sole seat of royalty. Here dwelt the ruler of the land surrounded by his retainers, his assistants in the government and the priesthood; here the chiefs of the people met at court, like the Trojans at the gate of Priam, to take counsel with the king; and here we find the germs of the race that prided itself on being descended from mother earth herself.²²

¹⁹ CIA. I, 322, col. I, 9. 56. 62. 83.

²⁰ PLUT., *Thes.* 12.

²¹ *Ibid.* 13.

²² THUK. I, 2; SOPH., *Aj.* 102.

It was by no mere chance, as we have already seen, that this hill was chosen as the original site for this favorite city of the ancient world. Not only as a fortress but as a dwelling place as well it was abundantly blessed by nature: in the hottest summer days it is fanned by a cool breeze from the sea, while the city and fields below are parched with heat and choked with clouds of dust. The seat of government, however, and the residence of the community were afterward removed from the Akropolis to other quarters, and the gods remained henceforth in sole possession of the "sacred rock."

IV.—THE FIRST FORTIFICATIONS.

Thus, in early times the Akropolis was not only the site of the oldest national sanctuaries but also the scene of public life and the seat and centre of the governing power. It was the "mighty tower" of Athens, but to have been such, it must have been defensible; and so it was. Indeed, it can no longer be seriously questioned that down to the time of Themistokles the city possessed no other fortifications whatever besides those about the Akropolis. When these fortifications were built we cannot tell, but they date far back into prehistoric times. Their construction, as well as that partial leveling of the surface of the Akropolis already mentioned, has been ascribed to the Pelasgians²³—a people shrouded in mystery—who, as foreign wage-workers, are said to have built the fortifications for the natives of the land. It is often said that a Pelasgian colony settled upon the Akropolis, but this is a confusion of story; for, according to every tradition, the Pelasgians are foreigners who have their home for the time on Mount Hymettos (or at the foot of the Akropolis) and are always quarrelling with the inhabitants of the sacred hill. Still there is coupled with the name Pelasgians no definite notion of any particular tribe; they are, as Wilamowitz-Möllendorf²⁴ pertinently remarks, imported only to be expelled by the Ionians.

²³ HDT. VI, 137; MYRSILOS, *ap.* DION. HAL. *Antiq.* I, 28; PHOT., *s. v.* Πελαργικόν; KLEIDEMOS, *frag.* 22 (BEKKER, *Anecdota*, p. 419, 27); SUID. *s. v.* ἀπεδα and ἡπέδιλον.

²⁴ *Aus Kydathen*, p. 144.

The name of this ancient stronghold is written in the one official inscription²⁵ that we possess Πελαργικόν—and it is there three times repeated with that spelling. Thukydides (II, 17) uses the word twice and the best manuscript (Laur. C) has Πελαργικόν both times; the same form is found also in Aristophanes,²⁶ Kleidemos,²⁷ Dionysios of Halikarnassos,²⁸ Photios,²⁹ and elsewhere.³⁰ Correctly speaking, therefore, Pelargikon and not Pelasgikon is the name that was given to that earliest settlement; but why it was called Πελαργικόν (Stork-nest (?) or Stork-town (?)) is a matter for speculation. At all events, the word Πελαργικόν has no connection whatever with Πελασγοί but, as there always were Pelasgi in Attika,³¹ the similarity between the words led easily to their confusion and to the slight change of name that resulted; and then, with stories³² invented to fit the case, people began to trace the work of fortification back to the Pelasgians, while the walls were styled "Pelasgic." Pausanias (I, 28, 3.) and Pliny (VII, 194.) even go so far as to name the architects—Agrolas (the rough stone) and Hyperbios (the man of giant strength.) They were said to have come from Sicily, the land of the Homeric Kyklopes whom Euripides (*Kykl.* 239) calls the "movers of rocks" and "builders of gates."

Upon hardly any other subject in the whole range of Athenian topography has so much been written, or so little that will stand the test of even the most superficial criticism, as upon the Pelargikon. It is not my purpose here to confute any or all the old views in regard to the Pelargikon or to propose any new mere theory of my own, but from the actual remains, with the help of our ancient authors, to reconstruct as far as possible the original fortifications of the Akropolis. Accordingly, we will begin not with a theory, as others have done, but with the remains that are still preserved; and here we may distinguish two parts of the Pelargikon, an upper and a lower.

²⁵ *CIA.* IV, 2, 27b.

²⁶ *Lys.* 1153, and *Schol. R.*, I. c.; *Av.* 832 and *Schol. RV* 832 and 836.

²⁷ *Frag.* 22 (*BEKKER, Anecdota*, p. 419, 27.)

²⁸ *Antiq.* I, 28.

²⁹ *s. v.*

³⁰ *Cf.* JAHN-MICHAELIS, *Paus. Descr. Arcis Athenar.* I, 28, 3.

³¹ WACHSMUTH, University lectures, 1890.

³² *Cf.*, e. g., HDT., MYRSILOS, PHOT., I. c.

(1) *The upper part.*—In the recent excavations traces, at least, of a wall surrounding the Akropolis were found on the east end and along almost the whole length of the south side (see PL. xv.) On the north side, however, but few remains of the “Cyclopean” wall are found. Nevertheless it need not in the least be supposed that the Akropolis was walled up only in places, for the remains of walls are found in the most inaccessible parts of the south and east sides, as well as in the parts by nature left the most defenseless. We must rather conclude that in its whole periphery the Akropolis was surrounded with a wall.³³ Remains of this old wall have been preserved there only where the new wall lies outside of the old. On the north the new wall follows exactly the line of the old one, and in every quarter wherever the line of Kimon’s wall coincides with that of the old wall or lies within it, the old one had to give way and was entirely obliterated. The fragments of the wall that yet remain follow closely the natural lines of the formation of the rock and are everywhere built at the outermost edge of its upper surface.

Now, in order to obtain the complete picture suggested by the scanty remains along the north side, let us summon to our aid the Greek authors. Hekataios³⁴ says: τὸ τεῖχος τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἑληλαμένον (the wall, built *around* the Akropolis). Myrsilos³⁵ remarks: καὶ (οἱ Πελασγοὶ) τὸ τεῖχος τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν τὸ Πελαργικὸν περιέβαλον (and they, *i. e.*, the Pelasgians) constructed the Pelargikon *round about* the Akropolis; and Kleidemos³⁶ also uses the word περιβάλλειν (to surround) and περίβολος (circumference) in speaking of the building of the wall around the Akropolis. Such expressions as these can be applied only to something encircling the entire citadel, as even Wachsmuth,³⁷ since the excavations, is willing to grant. Furthermore, the fact that the Persians clambered up on the north side and got

³³ After the above was written it was very gratifying to have Dr. Dörpfeld write that he fully agreed with me in this conclusion.

³⁴ *Ap. Hdt.* vi, 137.

³⁵ *Ap. Dion. Hal. Antiq.* i, 28.

³⁶ *Frag.* 22 (BEKKER, *Anecd.* p. 419, 27.)

³⁷ University lectures, Leipzig, 1890. For his earnest defense of the other view see his *Stadt Athen*, i, p. 292.

possession of the fortress proves nothing, for as Herodotos (VIII, 53) tells the story they climbed up *κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου* (by the sanctuary of Aglauros, the daughter of Kekrops) which was *ὀπισθεν τῶν πυλέων* behind, that is, (beyond, outside the gates, for Herodotos is speaking from the point of view of the Persians), and of course the Athenians always had free communication between the Akropolis and the Aglaurion through this same cleft in the rock. But certainly this passage way was not open to the general public—hence the surprise of the Athenians that the Persians should come up that way—and it should be remembered in passing that the stone staircase in this cleft as at present existing (Pl. xv, CD) was not built until after the Persian wars. Again, from the words of Pausanias, (I, 22, 4) when he says *ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἔστιν εἴσοδος μία, ἑτέραν δὲ οὐκ ἔχεται, πᾶσα ἀπότομος οὖσα* (there is one entrance to the Akropolis and it has no other, for it is precipitous on every side), it cannot by any means be inferred that no wall was needed in prehistoric times and that therefore none existed; for in his day there certainly was one, and the *ἀπότομος* (precipitous) has reference of course to the condition of the Akropolis as he saw it, with Kimon's wall encircling it entirely round about.

Still, this great Pelasgic wall was not the only means of strengthening the citadel of Athens. The same art that availed to cut down in such a manner the rock of the Pnyx, on either side of the so-called Bema, was doubtless brought into requisition here to make the naturally precipitous rock of the hill even steeper.³⁸ This is, for example, obviously the case on the south side above the Asklepion.

2) *The lower part.*—Besides the wall encircling the Akropolis above, there was also the lower or main part of the "Pelasgic" fortifications—the tremendous outworks at the west end, which are usually called the Pelargikon *par excellence*. Just what appearance these outworks presented we can never know; but so much is certain: they were a gigantic system of fortifications, with nine gates,³⁹ which led by several⁴⁰ terraces supported by

³⁸ Cf. WELCKER, *Felsaltar des höchsten Zeus*, p. 313.

³⁹ KLEIDEMOS: *περιέβαλλον ἐννεάπυλον Πελαργικόν* (frag. 22). POLEMON, *Frag.* 49: *ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐννέα πυλῶν*.

⁴⁰ Just how many we cannot say.

the mighty walls, one above the other, gradually up to the citadel.

How much of this, now, is still preserved? The lowest wall of the Pelargikon was that whose position was afterwards occupied by the southernmost wall of the Asklepieion (see fig. 1, p. 489) and by this means in part preserved. This wall, along with the prehistoric road that lies immediately below it and conducts through the theatre of Dionysos and then leads, outside the wall as a matter of course, up to the citadel—this wall, with the road, is continued along from the Asklepieion at the same elevation until interrupted by the Odeion of Herodes Attikos. After the latter was built, the road was altered so as to run not only up behind it but down the slope again on the opposite—that is, on the west side of the cavea. This can still be traced. Before the erection of the Odeion then, we may conclude, both wall and road passed directly through the site now occupied by Herodes' theatre, and continued together (fig. 1) up to the Areiopagos; while the wall itself, without the road, extended on a little beyond Pan's Grotto and there rejoins the natural rock of the Akropolis, just as at the other end. The gate of this wall must have been situated directly opposite the Areiopagos (fig. 1), for first the Amazons, as the story goes, and then the Persians made this hill the base of their operations against the Akropolis.⁴¹ And in addition to the inference that is so easily drawn from the operations of the Amazons and Persians, Polemon⁴² seems to state distinctly that such was the case, when he says that "the heroön of Hesychos is situated close to the Kyloneion (that is, by the grotto of the Eumenides on the northeast corner of the Areiopagos, facing the Akropolis) just outside the nine gates." The first or outermost gate, therefore, *must* have been directly opposite the Areiopagos (fig. 1).

Now let us return again to the south side. Between the Odeion and the Asklepieion we find preserved (fig. 1) a small part of the second terrace wall, which first projects at almost a right angle from the rock of the Akropolis, then bends around, and extends on, nearly parallel to the first wall. This is the second circuit wall

⁴¹ HDT. VIII, 52; PAUS. I, 18, 2.

⁴² Frag. 49 (Schol. to SOPH. *Oid. Kol.* 489).

of the Pelargikon. But, be it noted, while the first was "Cyclopean," this, like the next to be mentioned, is "polygonal," and, therefore, either repaired later or altogether of later construction.

Somewhat higher, but still outside Beulé's gate, there were certainly other such terraces, as every one that has ever climbed the hill, or even studied von der Launitz's model of the Akropolis, will not have failed to observe. Excavations will soon decide whether or not the remains of Pelasgic walls are hidden there.

The other polygonal wall, above referred to, the one lying in the axis of the Propylaia (fig. 1, fourth terrace, see PLATE XV, between Beulé's gate and the Propylaia), although it has often been called "Pelasgic," is not so old, but probably belongs to the VI century B.C., and is perhaps a part of the new plan of fortification executed by Peisistratos, in order to make the old Pelasgic fortress quite impregnable. Whether it actually took the place of one of the old Pelasgic terrace-walls we can no longer say with positive certainty.

But now again we come to another portion of the genuine *ἐννεάπυλον Πέλαργικόν* (the nine-gated Pelargikon), the Pelasgic wall that is now for the most part hidden by the Nike bastion (PL. xv and fig. 1). Here would come the last great struggle on the part of the defenders to protect their stronghold, and on the site of the Nike bastion we have still the remains of a mighty fort, an older "pyrgos," flanking for a considerable distance at close range the unprotected right side of the attacking foe. That taken, but one more wall was left to storm—the highest and last, and the best preserved portion of this great fortress. This was at once the boundary wall of the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia and also a part of the surrounding wall of the upper citadel. It is an exceedingly massive wall, six metres thick, and as Akropolis wall it needed to be stronger at this point than elsewhere, for everywhere else on account of the steepness of the cliffs the wall was only with the greatest difficulty approachable by the enemy.

Thus we have found as lower Pelargikon a system of nine great redoubts rising one behind the other.

And now we are met by the further question: how far did the Pelargikon extend? That it was by no means small we know from the passage in Thukydides (II, 17), in which is narrated how

upon the invasion of Attika the people, in their extremity, crowded into the city, and filling up every available spot took up their abode even in the Pelargikon, in spite of the fact that the place was laden with a curse.⁴³ The same incontrovertible evidence is afforded by the Eleusinian inscription already mentioned, for the decree therein preserved forbids the quarrying of stone within the Pelargikon and also the carting away of earth from the same.⁴⁴ But from three passages of Lucian we have more exact information: (1) *Pisc.* 42, where the philosophers throng up to the citadel. The description of the localities is exact and systematic; the wise men completely fill the *ἀνodos* (that is, the western slopes of the Akropolis); and then this specification follows: in the middle, the Pelargikon; to the right of it, the Asklepieion, and to the left the Areiopagos; again, to the right of the Asklepieion the grave of Talos, and again to the left of the Areiopagos the Anakeion. Thus:

- 5) Anakeion
- 3) Areiopagos
- 1) Pelargikon Akropolis
- 2) Asklepieion
- 4) Grave of Talos

From this it is clear that the Pelargikon reached at least from the Asklepieion to the Areiopagos. In complete accordance with this conclusion might be adduced as still further evidence, if more were needed, the entire absence of all ancient buildings on the terrace between the Asklepieion and the Odeion of Herodes; for it was forbidden to build anywhere within the walls of the Pelargikon, the oracle declaring τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον (that it was better, safer, that the Pelargikon should be bare).⁴⁵

But did it extend no further on the north beyond the Areiopagos? From the second passage in Lucian (*Pisc.* 47), where the philosopher-fisher seating himself ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ τειχίου (that is, "upon the corner of the wall," of the Akropolis of course, next to

⁴³ THUK., II, 17: τὸ τε Πελαργικὸν δὲ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν.

⁴⁴ This prohibition is recorded by POLLUX (VIII, 101) also, who adds that in case of violation the fine was three drachmae and "costs."

⁴⁵ Cf. THUK., II, 17.

the Pinakotheke), and dropping down his hook, baited with figs and gold, is asked whether he is going to fish up stones out of the Pelargikon—from this passage we discover that the Pelargikon extended at least as far as the north side of the Pinakotheke. Finally, according to the third passage (*Bis acc.* 9), Pan's dwelling-place is *μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ* (a little above the Pelargikon). And thus we have its extent pretty accurately defined—from the Asklepieion on the south to Pan's Grotto on the north; for the Aglaurion, according to Herodotos (VIII, 52) was not included, but lay behind—that is, outside—the walls. These limits furthermore would be in complete accord with the defensive purpose of the walls; for in this way the two best springs of the neighborhood, the Klepsydra, accessible from the summit by its Cyclopean stair-way of fifty-two steps which is still preserved, and the spring at the Asklepieion (see fig. 1) lay within the fortifications—no small advantage in time of siege. The lower Pelargikon was, therefore, identical with that part of the pre-Thesean city which was *τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν τὴν νῦν οὖσαν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον* (the part below what is now the Akropolis and facing the south).⁴⁶

In the time before the Persian wars, then, the Pelargikon consisted of two parts, and the name Pelargikon was applied to the whole Akropolis—that is, to the whole upper citadel *and* the fortifications on the west and south. This, moreover, follows conclusively from the statements of Herodotos,⁴⁷ Aristotle⁴⁸ and the Marmor Parium,⁴⁹ all three of which authorities testify that Kleomenes compelled the tyrants (meaning Hippias) to vacate *τὸ Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος* (the Pelasgic wall) within which, that is, within the walls of the Akropolis, he had been besieging them. But from the v century on, after Kimon's wall had supplanted the corresponding part of the "Pelasgic" walls, only the lower portion in its mighty ruins was understood by the name Pelargikon. For then the Akropolis, still in all official documents called "the city" (*ἡ πόλις*), consisted of these two parts: 1) the upper Akropolis,

⁴⁶ THUK., II, 15.

⁴⁷ V, 64: *Κλεομένης δὲ . . . ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῇ Πελασγικῇ τείχεϊ.*

⁴⁸ *Frag.* 357 (*Schol. R AR. Lys.* 1153): *Κλεομένης . . . τὸν Ἰππίαν συνέκλεισεν εἰς τὸ Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος, ἔως οἱ παῖδες τῶν τυράννων ἐξιόντες ἐάλωσαν.*

⁴⁹ *CIG.* 2374 (ep. 45): [*οἱ*] *Ἀθηναῖοι [ἔξανεστ]ησαν τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας ἐκ [τοῦ Πε]λασ[γικ]οῦ τείχους.*

the sacred enclosure (ἱερὸν τέμενος) of Athena Polias, and 2) the lower Pelargikon—also called Kranaa. Otherwise the following passages from Aristophanes, rendered so clear in the light of this explanation, must remain unintelligible: 1) *Lys.* 480: “Why have the women taken possession of the citadel and why of the Pelargikon?” And likewise 2) *Birds* 826 (832): “Who will be the πολιοῦχος”—that is, who will have possession of the Akropolis—“and who will hold the Pelargikon of the Akropolis?” And finally, Strabo (ix, p. 401), also quoting Ephoros, is familiar with this twofold division of the Akropolis: τοὺς Πελασγούς, ἀφ’ ὧν ἐκλήθη μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως [δηλ. Ἀκροπόλεως] Πελασγικόν (the Pelasgians, from whom a certain part of the city—that is, of the Akropolis—was called Pelargikon), and in harmony with this stands the passage in Thukydides (ii, 17): τὸ Πελαργικὸν τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν (the Pelargikon, the part that lies below the Akropolis).

The nine-gated Pelargikon can be conceived of, in the most general outline only, something as in the accompanying diagram.

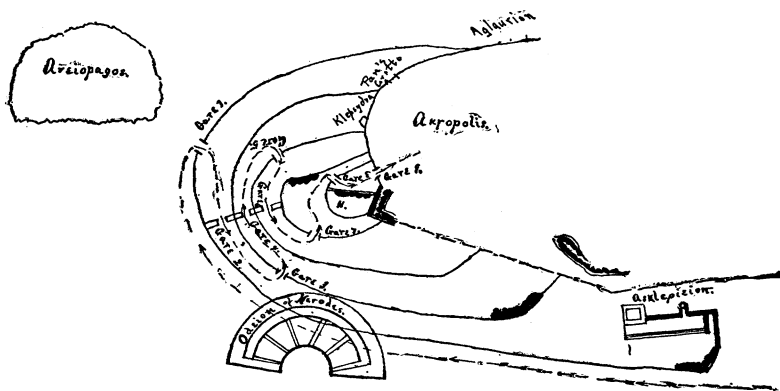


Fig. 1.—The Pelargikon Restored.

The road must have wound in some such way, from gate to gate; and not only were the attacking forces in constant danger from the defenders on each succeeding terrace above them, but their advance was nine times blocked by gates, in which feature indeed lay the main strength of the fortress, and each time a new redoubt must be stormed, in order to push on step by step to the summit.

Of the later history of these colossal fortifications so much can be said. They certainly did not fall with the overthrow of Hippias, as Wilamowitz-Möllendorf⁵⁰ supposes they did, for when three decades later the Mede invaded the land they still did remarkably good service. The few⁵¹ Athenians who lacked the courage to go with Themistokles to Salamis built a stockade⁵¹ in front of the outermost gate; for thus they thought to fulfill the conditions of the oracle which declared that their "wooden walls should be impregnable."⁵² The Persians at once set these wooden walls on fire, but for all that were still no nearer capturing the citadel than before, although they outnumbered the Athenians a thousand to one. These old "Pelagic" walls still defied them, and they were obliged to make their way to the citadel by climbing up a steep place behind these impregnable fortifications through the Aglaurion, where no one had dreamed they would come.⁵²

The next information is given by the Eleusinian inscription (*CIA.* iv, 2, 27b), from which we gather that the Persians had partially demolished the walls and that in Perikles' time, to which the inscription belongs, builders had found in those overturned blocks of gigantic proportions an excellent stone-quarry, which they utilized until what was left was protected by the very statute that gives us this information.

Let those who are still inclined to follow Wilamowitz-Möllendorf and to believe with him that the Pelargikon was completely destroyed with the fall of the tyrants, or by the Persians, or by the transformations of the west end of the Akropolis incident to the building of the Propylaia of Mnesikles, consider this one fact: the upper wall of the Pelargikon was standing to a height of over thirty feet after the erection of the Mnesiklean Propylaia. So much is incontrovertibly certain; for we notice that the southeast corner

⁵⁰ *Aus Kydathen*, p. 107. The only foundation for his supposition seems to be the subjective feeling that if he had been the "victorious demos" such would have been the fate of the tyrants' stronghold.

⁵¹ *HDT.* VIII, 51: *καί τινες δλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν τῇ ἱρῇ ἐόντας, ταμίαι τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένθητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραζάμενοι τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας . . . δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἢ Πυθίῃ σφί ἐχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον εἶσθαι. αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.*

⁵² *HDT.*, VIII, 51-52.

of the southwest wing of the Propylaia is beveled vertically from base-stone to cornice so as to fit up squarely against this wall, and this fact proves beyond a peradventure that this upper wall of the Pelargikon was still standing when the Propylaia were built, and was still higher than the roof of the southwest hall (30 feet).⁵³ Otherwise such a bevel corner would have been worse than senseless. And it further proves that even Mnesikles and his associates still recognized the necessity of preserving the old fortifications for their original purpose; otherwise enough of that old wall would have been removed to make way for the new gateway, and the corner of the southwest wing would have been unmarred. And the condition of this upper wall at that time shows how well preserved the remains must have been, not only of the upper wall, but of the lower walls as well, for the upper wall, which in the last quarter of the fifth century they took so much pains to conserve, would have been practically useless without the lower walls; besides, as we shall presently see, these lower walls were seen by the traveler Polemon, two hundred years later. Moreover without the existence at the close of the fifth century B. C. of another such defensory wall below, and in it an actual fortress-gate, neither the situation suggested by Aristophanes in the *Birds* (826 (832)) and *Lysistrata* (480) nor the occupation of the Akropolis by the Spartan garrison in 403 B. C. can be understood. It would be a necessary assumption, even if we had no proofs.

Now comes, more than two centuries later, the Alexandrian periegete Polemon, who speaks⁵⁴ of the *ἐννέα πύλαι* (nine gates) in a description so vivid that there can be no question but that, in spite of all the changes in and about the Propylaia, he nevertheless saw the entire lower Pelargikon with all its nine gates in a state of tolerably good preservation. For by the nine gates (which certainly can be nothing else than the *ἐννεάπυλον Πελαργικόν*—nine-gated Pelargikon) and the Kyloneion together he locates the position of the tomb of the hero Hesychos. And one does not define the location of a sanctuary, or anything else, by means of something that has long since disappeared or become unrecogniz-

⁵³ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, X, p. 139-140.

⁵⁴ *Frag.* 49 (*Schol. SOPH. Kol.* 489).

able. Accordingly, in the days of Polemon, also, the Pelargikon with its nine successive redoubts still stood.

Again, even in Sulla's time (86 B. C.) the fortifications of the Akropolis were still so strong that Sulla's lieutenant, Scribonius, thought it wiser not to attempt to storm the citadel, but by cutting off the Klepsydra to compel Aristion and his forces to capitulate for want of water.

The above-cited passages from Lucian and Pausanias' remark that "all the walls of the Akropolis in his day, except those built by Kimon, were erected by the Pelasgians," are very significant. What Pausanias in effect says is that the Akropolis walls consisted in his day of two parts: 1) the wall of Kimon, to whom he assigns with probable correctness the whole upper encircling wall of the Akropolis, including the so-called wall of Themistokles, who almost certainly had nothing whatever to do with it, and 2) the wall or walls built by the "Pelasgians"—that is, all the fortifications on the west; for he certainly saw the upper wall, which we still see to-day at the south-east corner of the Propylaia (see PL. xv) and, as it seems to me, others besides. Accordingly, both Lucian and his contemporary Pausanias, seem to testify that the Pelargikon continued in fairly good preservation even into the time of the Roman Empire. At length by the building of the Odeion of Regilla, the outer ring or rings of the fortifications were for the first time broken through and so weakened that they were once more converted into a stone-quarry, and in this way the old Pelargikon fell into absolute ruin and disappeared. I am convinced that down to the times of Herodes Attikos the outer circle of the Pelargikon still stood from Klepsydra to Asklepieion as a wall of defense, with a real, defensory gateway. Otherwise I fail to understand the above-quoted passages from Aristophanes, or the occupation of the Akropolis by the Spartans in 403 B. C., or the procedure of Scribonius in 86 B. C., or the building of additional strong towers in the first century A. D.

In immediate connection with the Pelargikon we ought to consider for a moment the history of the approach to the citadel. No other part of the Akropolis, as the centuries have rolled by, has suffered transformation so complete as has its main entrance. In the earliest times the first or outermost gate lay opposite the Areio-

pagos and the road wound from terrace to terrace and from gate to gate up to the citadel. Inside the Propylaia the general arrangement was always essentially the same: just inside the entrance to the Akropolis proper the road divided into two branches forming the two principal streets of the Akropolis. Both led ultimately to the central point of the sacred enclosure—the great altar of Athena Polias, still to be seen a little to the north-east of the Parthenon (PL. xv). The one to the right led between the old Athena temple and the Parthenon directly to this spot; the other, bending to the left, passed along the wall on the north side of the Erechtheion and so around to the altar.

There were several altars belonging to the Athena cultus upon the Akropolis of Athens, but one altar *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, and it was accordingly officially called simply *ὁ βωμός* (*the altar*), or *ὁ μέγας βωμός* (*the great altar*) without any further designation; and that is the altar of which I have been speaking, northeast of the Parthenon and southeast of the older temple and belonging to both. Like the great altar in Olympia, it also stands not squarely in front of the great temple but a little northeast of it, a huge, rectangular block of rock rising slightly above the level of the plateau on which it stands.⁵⁵

But it is outside the Propylaia and in the Propylaia itself that we are to look for the greatest changes. It is not a matter of mere alteration in the general plan of ascent, nor yet, as we shall see later, of building a new structure right on top of the old, but of eradicating the old entirely and laying the new road deeper. Near Beulé's gate the road in ancient times lay much deeper than that of the Roman period. For just inside this gate, north of the polygonal wall described above (PL. xv), and about two and a half metres below the level of the Roman staircase, the excavations have brought to light an altar *in situ*. This was one of those altars, probably all to chthonic divinities, which we know had of old been set up in the Pelargikon⁵⁶ and to the number of which it was in the time of Perikles forbidden to add.⁵⁶

The polygonal wall just mentioned fixes the position of the terrace next above the one on which this altar stands, and is

⁵⁵ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XII, p. 51.

⁵⁶ CIA. IV, 2, 27b.

a further evidence that the road must have followed a winding course. And furthermore that this continued to be the manner of ascent to the citadel until Roman times is conclusively demonstrated by the fact that at the elevation of the Nike pyrgos and the Agrippa monument the older road was higher than the level of the stairway. For the lowest courses of stone both in the Nike pyrgos and in the pedestal of the Agrippa monument visible above the steps were left uncut—a sure evidence that at the time they were built so much of the foundations lay beneath the surface of the road and was not intended to be seen. Accordingly, even at the time when the Agrippa monument was erected (about 27 B. C. and certainly before the building of the stairs, for the monument in question faces not the stairs but the old road) the upper part of the road lay on a higher, and the lower part on a lower plane than does the corresponding part of the Roman stairway now existing; and the communication between these greatly differing levels must almost certainly have been effected by the winding terraces—or by a ladder.

We shall see later how, when the staircase was built, the very traces of the old approach almost wholly disappeared.

V.—THE AKROPOLIS UNDER PEISISTRATOS AND THE PEISISTRATIDAI.

Such, then, was the Akropolis, surrounded with its “Pelagic” fortifications, the huge bulwarks at the main entrance in front themselves overhung by the mighty bastion on whose summit from remotest antiquity had stood the sanctuary of Athena-Nike. The citadel continued till into the time of the Peisistratidai to be the seat of sovereignty, for even after the assassination of Hipparchos, Hippias, in order to insure his supremacy, made it his stronghold. But from that time until the Middle Ages people dwelt in the lower city only. To Peisistratos and his sons the city owed the wonderful progress it made in those times; and it was indebted to them personally for more than one costly structure.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ *E. g.*, the famous Altar to the Twelve Gods and the Enneakrounos in the Agora, the Olympieion (begun but not completed), the Pythion, a sanctuary of Apollo, the addition to the Gymnasion in the Lykeion, with its decorations and equipment, also

Some of the buildings that must have existed at the time of Peisistratos have already been mentioned. Let us now try as far as possible to picture to ourselves the Akropolis as it then looked. First we have to imagine two⁵⁸ temples which must have been there long before the time of Peisistratos and were doubtless still there in his day, but whose exact location cannot now be determined. That they did exist is abundantly proved by the invaluable remains of these very temples—the pediment reliefs of poros stone. All four of them are more or less well preserved. The first, which has been known since 1882, represents Herakles in combat with the Lernæan Hydra. This monster enemy fills the whole right wing of the pediment; the left is occupied by Herakles, with breastplate, bow and quiver, and his friend Iolaos with the chariot drawn by two horses headed toward the corner. This was the conventional arrangement of the figures of this familiar group and the artist did not feel at liberty to break away from the traditional form, however great difficulty it occasioned him. His horses could not be driven with heads erect into that sharp angle. But for the lowered heads, made necessary by the shape of the gable, some motive must be found. And the motive our artist has furnished with the touch of a master's hand. In the extreme corner of his pediment he has introduced the giant crab that came to the assistance of the Hydra, and the horses, catching sight of the monster as it creeps toward them, bend down their heads to sniff at it, as if even to them it were an uncanny sight.⁵⁹

the construction of water-works on a magnificent scale, and of beautiful, broad streets. We observe, therefore, that it was the city proper and the suburbs even more than the Akropolis that were the objects of their especial attention and care.

⁵⁸ A third—the temple of Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἰππολύτῃ—is known to us only through the obscure reference of a scholium to EUR. *Hipp.* 30: ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει ἰδρύσατο (ἡ Φαίδρα) Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κακὸν Ἰππολύτου.

Ἀφροδίτης ναὸν ἰδρύσασθαι τὴν Φαίδραν φασίν. Ἐκάλεσε δὲ Ἀφροδίτην ἐφ' Ἰππολύτῃ, ἣν καὶ Ἰππολυτίαν καλοῦσιν.

⁵⁹ A highly interesting feature of these four, the earliest of all the pediment-reliefs known to us, is the polychromy; but however inviting a digression upon this much vexed theme might be, it does not properly belong to a “History of the Akropolis.” Still so much may with propriety be said, in order that the reliefs may be presented more vividly to the reader's mind: the background is not painted at all; the figures, however, raised in relief upon it, are colored in a manner true to nature. The naked

An excellent companion piece to this we find in a second pediment relief of the same size and workmanship, discovered like the other in the southeast corner of the Akropolis, and representing an adventure of Herakles that has at least an external resemblance to the former one. In this relief we see the hero struggling with the *ἄλιος γέρον*, Triton, the Old Man of the Sea. Herakles has thrown himself upon Triton with the whole weight of his powerful body and grasping his opponent about the neck with his left arm he draws on that with his right and threatens to crush his throat and chest as in a vise. Triton, finding himself in so dangerous a case, tries but feebly to defend himself with his left hand while he stretches out his right as if imploring aid from the person or persons on the left side of the gable. For in that quarter we must necessarily restore in our imagination a spectator or spectators of the contest, as in the third relief of our series.

How suitable a companion piece for the snaky coils of the Hydra are those of the fish-monster, Triton! and in view of all the remarkable coincidences of subject, place of discovery, workmanship, and dimensions, we are compelled to assume that both pediments belonged to one and the same amphiprostylos. And to whom then alone of the gods can this temple have been sacred? Only to Herakles. To be sure, neither history nor tradition tells us anything of a Herakleion upon the Akropolis; but what further proof of its existence do we need than these same two pediments, especially since we know that the Attic people anciently worshiped him as a god, and since both tradition and monuments of every sort reveal the intimate relation in which he stood to the guardian goddess of the city? But in regard to this little temple it is easy to understand why tradition should be silent; for the Persians doubtless destroyed it, and after the war the Athenians had something better to do than to rebuild the temple of a divinity that had now become specifically Dorian. So the very site of the Herakleion was obliterated and forgotten—perhaps even taken by some other building.

Thus we have made the acquaintance of a temple of whose ex-

parts of Herakles and Iolaos, for example, are flesh-colored, while eyes, hair and beard of Iolaos (Herakles' head is lost) are black. The Hydra's heads are a bright green, while its opened mouths are red. A peculiar feature in the Typhon pediment is the blue-bearded giant. Both the reliefs are produced in the colors of the original in the "*Denkmäler des Instituts*," I, 30.

istence on the Akropolis no more is known. But it is not the only one unknown to literature among the temples belonging to that period. For besides these poros pediment reliefs two others have been found. The first represents (PL. XVII), like the relief above described, the struggle of Herakles with the Old Man of the Sea, but it is larger than the other, and the combatants in this, the larger relief, occupy the left wing of the pediment, while the corresponding figures of the smaller one are intended for the right. This time we find the spectator of the contest still preserved—a creature, man above and snake below, holding in his right hand an eagle, the symbol of royalty. This regal personage is in all probability Kekrops himself, who is here present as umpire,⁶⁰ just as we find him in the west pediment of the Parthenon.

And again the corresponding pediment is not wanting; it represents the battle of Zeus with the “*τρισώματος Τυφῶς*”⁶¹—the

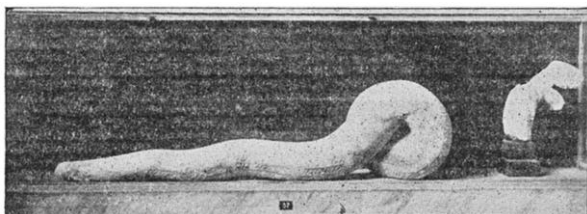


Fig. 2.—The Serpent (*Echidna*) in the pediment.

triple-bodied Typhon. Typhon is represented as a monster with three human bodies furnished with three pairs of wings and terminating below the breast in three great snaky coils that ultimately unite inextricably in one; growing from its bodies smaller serpents writhe and hiss. Filling the other angle of the pediment is a giant serpent, in which, participating as it does in this mighty conflict, we are perhaps to recognize Echidna, Typhon's spouse (fig. 2). From the middle of the pediment we see Zeus and Herakles hastening from the heights of Olympus against their monstrous foes—the father of light and his son, in human form and in the service of mankind, rushing on to overthrow the unre-

⁶⁰ Cf. *Marm. Par.* 1; APOLLOD. III, 14, 1 sq.; PAUS. I, 2, 6; HYGIN., *Fab.* 48; EUSEB., *Chron.* 6, 22, etc.

⁶¹ EUR., *H. F.* 1258.

strained Vulcanic forces that threatened to confound the order of the universe.

Here again are two pediment reliefs of the same material, of precisely the same dimensions, and of the same style; the representations also are not without connection. These two also unquestionably belonged to one and the same building. We can only guess that this building may have been a temple to Zeus, perhaps to Zeus Polieus, who, as we know, had a cult on the Akropolis, and whose altar and statues—the primitive one and beside it the new statue by Leochares—were seen by Pausanias (I, 24, 4). At any rate, it seems certain that the worship of Zeus upon the Akropolis of Athens is as old as that of Athena herself. He is the greatest of the gods everywhere. To him Athena vows the sacrifice of a bull if she shall vanquish Poseidon in the contest, and to him she pays her vow. His importance may once have been greater than that of his daughter, but certain it is that at Athens, however great it once was, the worship of Zeus gradually paled into comparative insignificance before that of the vanquisher of the god of the sea.

In the first paragraph concerning these ancient reliefs, it was stated that they were at least older than Peisistratos. To give an exact date for their creation is, of course, impossible. The conception, especially of the Hydra relief, is worthy of a great master; for it is a matter of no small significance that every position, even down to the finest details, has an excellent motive. Still, we are fully justified by other considerations, such as that of execution, in assigning to these reliefs a somewhat earlier date than the first half of the sixth century.⁶² Earlier than that time, to be sure, even the temples of the gods were usually built of wood and other perishable material; but temples adorned by pediment reliefs of stone were never built of wood and sun-dried bricks but of stone. A temple of stone, however, earlier than the sixth century B. C., is not an altogether inconceivable thing. Furthermore, these reliefs have no figure directly under the angle in the middle of the pediment, as have the pediments of the temple of Aigina, of the treasure house of the Megarians at Olympia, and probably also of the old Polias temple on the Akropolis. The poros pediments, how-

⁶² This is the date assigned by MEIER, *Mith. Athen*, X, 323.

ever, were wrought at an earlier time, before it had become the established rule to put into the middle of the pediment the principal figure of the group adorning it. This feature, together with the composition, the coloring and the style as compared with the pediment group made for the Polias temple under Peisistratos adequately warrant us in dating our reliefs far back into the seventh century before our era.

With regard to the third temple earlier than Peisistratos' day—the old temple of Athena—with regard to this we can reach results more definite and certain. The credit of having discovered the remains of this temple belongs to Wilhelm Dörpfeld. Only the foundations with a part of the stylobate are still preserved *in situ* between the Erechtheion and the Parthenon (see PL. xv); but there are elsewhere scattered architectural pieces of the building in number sufficient to enable us, with Dörpfeld's help, to picture, at least with a certain degree of accuracy, how the temple must have looked.

In the north wall of the Akropolis, a little to the west of the Erechtheion, are to be seen quite a large number of architectural fragments of the temple; still others are found in the south wall, all of which have contributed not a little to its reconstruction. These fragments consist of drums and capitals of columns, architrave-blocks, triglyphs and cornices—all of poros stone—and metopes of marble. From the dimensions of these fragments and of the foundations Dörpfeld has proved not only that they belonged to one and the same building, but also that that building was a hexastyle peripteral, with six columns at each end and twelve on each side—the corner columns being, of course, counted twice. As the remaining pieces of stylobate show, the columns stood, like those of the Heraion at Olympia, upon a platform only one step high, instead of three, as the rule is. Such was its appearance in general.

The ground-plan (PL. xv) reveals unmistakably 1) in the eastern end, besides the pronaos, a cella, which is divided by two rows of columns into three parts—nave and aisles, like a Christian church. In this respect this older temple is precisely like the later Parthenon. Completely separated by a solid wall from the eastern half is found 2) the opisthodomos, forming the western half of

the temple. In this respect again it is precisely like the Parthenon. In one point only does the inner arrangement of the older temple differ from that of the Parthenon: the latter has as opisthodomos a single large room preceded by a pronāos, while the western end of the former contains, besides the pronaos and cella proper, two smaller chambers⁶³ adjoining but not connected with the cella on the east. The eastern cella was, of course, the sacred shrine of the goddess; but what purpose did the back rooms serve? This question is answered fully and unequivocally by official documents, inscriptions of earlier as well as of later date than the Persian wars. The whole opisthodomos was the treasury of Athens. In the large room to the west (E) the state-funds were kept; this was certainly the case after the Persian wars and probably also from the very beginning. In the smaller chamber to the right, that is, the room on the south side (G), were preserved the moneys of Athena and in the left room (F) those of the other gods.⁶⁴

Furthermore, if we examine the foundation walls more closely, we are struck by another fact of peculiar interest, namely, that the temple originally possessed no peristyle at all. For, in the first place, the foundations that supported the stylobate are of different material from those of the inner temple: the latter are built of the blue limestone taken from the Akropolis itself; the former are constructed of the hard Peiraieus stone. This difference of itself at once suggests with strong probability the inference that the *naos* proper is older than the peristyle and this a later addition. But there is a further point of difference that is of still greater significance: the substructure of the cella, the inner sanctuary, shows faint indications of a striving toward horizontal courses in the masonry, though in reality the effort has succeeded only with the uppermost stones and at the corners.⁶⁵ The foundation walls of the colonnade, however, are at the bottom polygonal and scarcely hewn, but above they are carefully cut with both horizontal and vertical surfaces and neatly fitted.

All the circumstances connected with the discovery of the various parts of this temple, and especially of those parts built into

⁶³ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XI, p. 340.

⁶⁴ CIA. I, 32; DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XII, p. 38.

⁶⁵ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XI, pp. 345-346.

the Akropolis walls, show that it belongs to a time previous to the Persian wars. When the *ναός* was built we can never discover, but with reference to the peristyle we have more exact chronological criteria: the substructure is with respect to material and technique precisely like the foundations of the Olympieion at Athens, which, as is well known, were laid by Peisistratos, as well as those of other buildings of the same date.⁶⁶ We shall be entirely safe, therefore, in concluding that it was in the age of Peisistratos that the peristyle was added to the old temple, and the style of the architectural fragments of the upper parts also of the colonnade is strongly corroborative of this conclusion.

The pediment of this new peristyle was ornamented with a plastic group—Athena in the battle of the gods against the giants.⁶⁷ The Athena herself is partly preserved (Pl. XVIII), and her position shows that the battle is already decided in her favor. Her enemy—Enkelados (?)—is also not entirely lost.⁶⁸ And in addition to these we may with Studniczka⁶⁹ recognize in the giant warrior striding toward the (spectator's) left some other deity participating in the fight.

There prevails in all the fragments a degree of vigor and animation far surpassing that found in the Æginetan marbles. Above all is this true of the Athena. The large, rounded, somewhat protruding eyes of the Peisistratic Athena seem hardly in keeping "with the delicate softness of her cheeks and the exquisitely fashioned lips;"⁷⁰ but that incongruity disappears when we consider that the artist, in fashioning those eyes as he did, was counting upon the effect of height and distance and has presented to us, accordingly, in corporeal reality the epithets *γλαυκῶπις* and *γοργῶπις* Ἀθηνῆ.⁷⁰ Still, the animation and vigor of the Peisistratic pediment, over against the cold formality and lifelessness of the Æginetan pediments, are not sufficient cause for assigning, as has been done,⁷⁰ an earlier date to the Æginetans than to these fragments from the Akropolis. Another consideration of far more

⁶⁶ *E. g.*, the older temple at Eleusis.

⁶⁷ The fragments are published by STUDNICZKA, *Mitth. Athen*, XI, p. 187.

⁶⁸ STUDNICZKA, frag. 9a-12.

⁶⁹ *L. c.*, p. 180.

⁷⁰ STUDNICZKA, *l. c.*, pp. 196-197.

importance than vigor of conception and of execution has been overlooked, namely the acquaintance of the Æginetan artists with human anatomy and the skill with which the details of all the forms are worked out. This it is that marks the more advanced stage of artistic development and in this the Æginetan sculptures are vastly superior to the fragments of Peisistratos' pediment. So the Æginetans will keep the place they have so long occupied, about 470 B. C., and the fragments of the Akropolis pediment will take their place in the latter part of the VI century. Earlier than Peisistratos (560-527) they cannot be, for the foundations of that part of the building on which they stood will not admit of an earlier date. Of the later date their style will not admit.

Since, then, everything points with unmistakable evidence to the time of Peisistratos, can we not make him himself responsible for the extension and improvement of the temple with its colonnade and plastic decoration? He stood, as we well know, in a close relation to Athena; he moved his royal residence into her sacred enclosure; he was the first to stamp the coin of Attika with Athena's head; it was he who so enriched her cultus by the introduction of the Great Panathenaia with their magnificent procession and the presentation of the peplos. Who else in his age than the great Peisistratos, the lover of art, who did so much beside for the improvement and adornment of the city of Athena, who else than he should have added to Athena's temple the colonnade and the sculptures that in his day were erected?

By the last excavations upon the Akropolis our acquaintance with the art of this period has been wonderfully enriched, for through them inestimable treasures of pre-Persian sculpture have been brought to light. The "Tanten," as the Germans call that row of archaic female statues, about forty in number, are so well known that they need no more than a passing mention. But it is worth while to notice that even in this earlier period, before the beginning of the Persian wars, Athens was an art centre, and that there were then busy in Athens a great number of sculptors, both native and foreign, whose works, some with signatures and some without, have been recovered in comparative abundance from the débris of the Akropolis. Let me mention, for the sake of example, only a few such well known names as Endoios of Athens (?), Kle-

oitas, Aristokles, Aristion of Paros, Kallon and Onatas (Mikon's son) of Aigina, Theodoros⁷¹ of Samos (?), Archermos of Chios,⁷² and Antenor. But through these excavations we have also made the acquaintance of sculptors who were before entirely unknown to us; for example, Evenor,⁷³ Eleutheros,⁷⁴ Philon,⁷⁵ and many others.

Besides these sculptures in marble and stone, a great many pieces of bronze have been found—some in the round, some in *repoussé*;—and we must not forget to mention the terracottas and the invaluable fragments of vases that have settled forever the furious strife over the chronology of vase-paintings and vase-painters.

People are accustomed to picture the Akropolis of this period to themselves as comparatively empty. But that seems not to have been the case; we have seen there a stately temple of Athena, a complex temple of Erechtheus and Athena together, a temple of Zeus Polieus (?), a Herakleion, and the royal palace of the ruling prince. But that is not all; even in this archaic period there had been gathered together about these sanctuaries in the course of time a great host of statues and altars and votive offerings of every sort. The pre-Persian votive inscriptions that have been brought to light form, we may safely say, the very smallest part of the whole number that were there before the Persian invasion, and yet over three hundred of them have been recovered from the ruins left behind by the barbarians. These votive offerings were the gifts not only of private individuals, but also of the state. Among the latter class, though marking the very end of the period under discussion, the monument to the heroism of Aristogeiton's mistress Leaina, the tongueless lioness in bronze, which survived even the devastating rage of the Mede and was still seen in the Propylæia even by Pausanias (I, 23, 2), should not be passed without mention.

Of no less interest, to say the least, is the famous bronze quadriga, seen by Herodotos (V, 77), and more than half a millennium later by Pausanias (I, 28, 2). It was erected from the tithes of

⁷¹ CIA. iv, 2, No. 373⁹⁰

⁷² *Ibid.*, No. 373⁹⁵

⁷³ *Ibid.*, No. 373^{86, 88}

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 373¹⁰²

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 373¹⁰⁴

the ransom, two minae per man, paid by the Boeotians and Chalcidians for their soldiers taken captive by the Athenians in the great double victory of 507 B. C. Concerning this monument many questions have arisen to which the future, we trust, may find some universally satisfactory answer; for as yet, in the case of some of the problems, no attempt even has ever been made to solve them, while others have been answered in every conceivable way, but are still unsettled. Pausanias⁷⁶ mentions the chariot, and from the context it is clear that he found it near the so-called Athena Promachos, between this and the Propylaia. But Herodotos gives us what at first sight seems to be an almost exact location of this celebrated work of art: τὸ δὲ (the chariot with its four horses) ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ Προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει, which is usually translated: "It stands on the left just as you enter the Akropolis through the Propylaia." But this the Greek by no means says. What the text of Herodotos does say is that "the first thing you see on the left as you enter the Propylaia is the bronze chariot." The trouble is that interpreters have thought of the Propylaia as a gate in a modern fence, and not as it is, a great building with a deep hall in front and another in the rear with doors connecting; in other words, the Propylaia might fairly be called the "vestibule" of the Akropolis. As our text stands, then, it cannot be otherwise translated than substantially in the way I have suggested. If, then, the reading ἐσιόντι ἐς is correct, Herodotos must mean that the chariot stood *in* the Propylaia; for the first thing you see when you enter a vestibule is not something several rooms beyond.

Now begins the trouble. Weizsäcker⁷⁷ locates the monument in the east portico of the Propylaia and others have followed him; Michaelis⁷⁸ mathematically proves this hypothesis to be untenable. Bursian⁷⁹ with greater probability puts it in the west portico; but

⁷⁶ That he calls it ἄρμα and not τέθριππος does not, in a writer like Pausanias, necessarily imply, as has been supposed, that the horses were gone and only the car left, though of course they may have been carried away long before his day.

⁷⁷ *Arch. Zeit.* xxxiii (1875), p. 46.

⁷⁸ *Mitth. Athen*, II, pp. 95 sg.

⁷⁹ *Litt. Centralblatt*, 1875, col. 1080.

no unprejudiced reader of Pausanias' description of the Akropolis can grant even the possibility of that. For Pausanias came that way in order to reach the Pinakotheke, and it is not in accordance with his strictly topographical method to have passed by so important and interesting a monument or one so ancient, and then to mention it, as it were, in an appendix, after he has made a complete tour of the whole inner Akropolis with its sanctuaries and its monuments, and is on the point of leaving.

Ernst Curtius⁸⁰ rejects both sites and, emphasizing the future meaning of *εἰμι*, which is often especially strong in the participle, translates: "as you are *on the point of stepping into* the Propylaia, you find on your left the chariot, etc." In accordance with this interpretation he puts the quadriga immediately in front of the west portico of the Propylaia. This is just as completely out of harmony with Pausanias as the interpretation that brings the quadriga into the Propylaia; and, furthermore, as Wachsmuth in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher* 1879, pp. 18-23, has proved at length, it is out of all harmony with Herodotos' usage of the expression *ἐσιόντι* (*ἐσιούσι ἐξιώντι, ἐξιοῦσι, etc.*) For when Herodotos says that an object is *ἐσιόντι ἐπὶ δεξιὰ* or *ἀριστερά* without any more exact local designation,⁸¹ he always means something on the inside of the enclosed space of which he is speaking. Moreover the participle of *εἰμι* is not only not always strongly future, but is often relatively present or even past in meaning. Therefore, finding all these attempts to reconcile topographical necessity with the words of Herodotos to be futile, Wachsmuth declares the text corrupt and writes for "*ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ Προπύλαια*" "*ἐξιώντι τὰ Προπύλαια*" and places⁸² the monument, as other topographers⁸³ do, in exact conformity to the description of Pausanias, on the left side of the road from the Erechtheion to the Propylaia, and not far from the latter.

But are not all these scholars taking some things for granted that are by no means so very certain? Is it certain, as all these men assume, that Herodotos is talking about the Mnesiklean

⁸⁰ *Arch. Zeit.* xxxiii, pp. 54 sg.

⁸¹ Cf. also Hdt. i, 51.

⁸² See also WACHSMUTH, *Stadt Athen*, i, p. 150.

⁸³ Cf. MICHAELIS, *Mitth. Athen*, ii, p. 96; LEAKE, *Topogr. of Athens*, i, p. 351; BAEHR, *Ad Hdt.* v, 77.

Propylaia, built 437-432? Granting that Herodotos returned to Athens after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, is it not possible, or even probable, that the fifth book was finished before his return? ⁸⁴ And if so, how can we know that he altered this one sentence so as to apply to the change in the entrance to the Akropolis? If, then, Herodotos had in mind the older Propylaia, all these great Germans are quarreling over a difficulty that does not exist. These questions can perhaps never receive a final answer. But so much may be said, that while Herodotos may possibly have been acquainted with the Propylaia of Mnesikles, he certainly was well acquainted with the older Propylaia; and if he had that in mind when writing the passage in question, then there is no difficulty either of fact or of interpretation.

If our text of Herodotos is correct—and the burden of proof rests upon those who deny it—then the chariot must have stood in the old Propylaia, or just in front of it. In it there was an abundance of room even for this colossal monument; and when

⁸⁴ KIRCHHOFF (in his exceedingly able and keenly critical essay *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Herodotischen Geschichtswerks*, 2d edition, Berlin, 1878, pp. 12-18), proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the first two and a half books of Herodotos' history were written in Athens, before his departure for Thurioi in 443-2, and he makes it equally clear that from III, 119 to about V, 77 (the passage in which mention is made of the Propylaia), was written at Thurioi before his return to Athens, 432-1. But, with the exception of this one unfortunate passage (V, 77), there is nothing whatever in his history to indicate that Herodotos ever saw Athens again until we come to VI, 98. For my part, I do not think that we have any sufficient grounds for supposing that he ever came back to Athens at all. Kirchhoff, furthermore, overlooks entirely the fact that there was an older Propylaia, and thus fails to see the possibility that Herodotos may be speaking of that, just as, in his first edition, he had proved that Herodotos was in Athens in 431-30 by the historian's mention (VII, 162) of a funeral oration by Perikles; this funeral oration he at once identifies as the famous oration over the dead of 431-30, overlooking the fact that Perikles had delivered another funeral oration some nine years earlier over those who had fallen in the campaign against Samos; and this, according to Kirchhoff himself, in his second edition (p. 19, note), is the one referred to by Herodotos. Upon the hypothesis that Herodotos is speaking of that older Propylaia, our passage is easily explained and understood without the supposition that when he wrote it he had already returned from Italy. To me, therefore, it seems more than possible that our passage was written before Herodotos saw the new building at the entrance to the Akropolis (if he ever really did return from Thurioi), and that he afterward failed to note the change. Such an oversight would not be in the least surprising; even Thukydides neglected to correct his statement that there had never been but one earthquake felt on the island of Delos (THUK. II, 8; cf. HDT. VI, 98), although he certainly must have discovered his mistake before his work was done.

Perikles and Mnesikles began with their new plan and removed almost all traces of the older gateway, the chariot, whether it stood actually inside or immediately in front of it, had to be moved and it was moved to a new site not far away. It was set up upon a new basis—perhaps the substructure $2\frac{1}{2}$ –3 metres long, still to be recognized near that of the so-called Athena Promachos (see PL. xv)—and the inscription was renewed upon it. I say renewed, for a part of the new inscription is still preserved and the letters bear the character of the latter part of the Periklean age.⁸⁵ In addition to this remnant of the renewed inscription we have also the recently discovered fragment of the older inscription in characters that antedate by not a few years the age of Perikles.

Still there is another question that must be considered here—the date of the quadriga's erection. Was it set up immediately after the victory, that is, in 507–506? If so, how did so valuable a piece of metal escape the devastations and the greed of the Persians? 'Tis true the Leaina was neither destroyed nor carried away; but in the case of the chariot we have no evidence. The inscriptions we possess are certainly considerably later than 507; was the monument also, as well as the inscriptions, first made at a later date? Or was the original inscription alone twice in turn, perhaps, replaced with the newer ones which we have? And if the monument was erected in 507, perhaps it was destroyed or carried away by the barbarians, and what both Herodotos and Pausanias saw was a copy of the older statue, like the group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Perhaps, however, the Persians only overturned and damaged the old monument of 507, which was thereupon repaired by the Athenians and provided with a new inscription—the older one of the two that have come down

⁸⁵ The epigram, given entire by Herodotos (v, 77), is as follows:

Εἴθεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδῶν δαμάσαντες
 Παῖδες ἈΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ἑπτάμασιν ἐν πολέμῳ
 Δεσμὴ ἐν ἀχλὺόνετι σιδηρέῃ ἔσβησαν ἴβριν·
 Τῶν ὕμνοισι δεκάτην Παλλὰδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

The Periklean inscription (*CIA*. I, 334; in fac-simile, KIRCHHOFF, *Monatsberichte der Berl. Akad. der Wiss.* 1869, pp. 409 sq.) was complete in two long lines, each containing one hexameter and one pentameter, and the letters preserved are these: ηγῶνων ἔργμα

. ππὸς δεκά

to us. And perhaps again, like the "Promachos," it was never erected at all until long after the event it was intended to commemorate. This last again is Kirchhoff's hypothesis,⁸⁶ and he finds no more fitting occasion for its creation than Perikles' victory over the sons of those same Bœotians and Eubœans in 446 B. C.⁸⁷ It is, however, apart from the fact that we have the inscription in letters much older than 446, extremely improbable that through all these subsequent wars with their neighbors, the life and death struggle with the powers of Asia, and the accomplishment of their stupendous building projects which followed—that through all these sixty years of vicissitude and unexampled outlay, such a fund could have been sacredly kept apart for its original purpose.

Thus we have established several things beyond fear of successful contradiction: 1) Herodotos is undoubtedly speaking of the pre-Periklean Propylaia. 2) The chariot and horses he describes stood in his day in the old Propylaia or, if we take the participle *ἐσιόντι* in its future meaning, just in front of the old Propylaia. 3) The monument in question changed sites at least once and possibly twice: a) Before the Persian wars it may have stood not far from the west front of the old Athena temple, where, as we know, were hung the fetters in which the captive Bœotians and Chalcidians had been kept bound, which fetters formed a part of the same votive offering as the quadriga (Hdt. V. 77). b) The Persians may have destroyed the original monument or carried it away with them, in which case a new one as nearly as possible like the old was made to take its place and set up in or in front of the old Propylaia; or they may only have broken and injured the old monument, in which case it was repaired, provided with a new inscription—the older of the two we have—and set up in the place where Herodotos saw it—in or in front of the old Propylaia; or else it may possibly not have been erected at all until after the Persian wars, in which case it would have occupied the place indicated by Herodotos, and to it would have belonged our older inscription. c) When the new Propylaia was built, the

⁸⁶ *L. c.*, p. 414.

⁸⁷ Dr. Dörpfeld has kindly called my attention to the fact that, since the discovery of the older inscription, Kirchhoff, in a short article in the *Abh. d. Berl. Akad* (1889), has withdrawn unreservedly from his former position.

monument was moved into the Akropolis proper and again provided with a new inscription—the later one of the two we have; and here it was that Pausanias saw it.

VI.—THE PERSIANS IN ATHENS.

The year 510 B. C., witnessed the overthrow of the last of the sons of Peisistratos. With the fall of Hippias the magnificent architectural enterprises of his father's house came to a stand-still. The political revolutions that followed the expulsion of the tyrants left the Athenians no time for improving and beautifying their city, and soon the foreign foe demanded for another decade or two their exclusive attention.

It was in the year 500 B. C. that Dareios decreed the utter destruction of Athens. Athos and Marathon were his only reward. It is familiar to every school-boy how, when in 480 B. C. the Persians again approached, only a few aged and helpless Athenians along with the priests and their attendants sought safety in the Akropolis. This handful of people, for the most part unfit for war, took refuge behind the old "Pelagic" fortifications of their citadel, barricaded the old approach, and then for a long time, weak as they were, held out against the countless hordes of the barbarians. The hosts of Asia directed their attack from the Areiopagos, as centuries before the Amazons had done; they burned the palisade—the "wooden walls," in which the defenders had persuaded themselves to put their trust—and still, with all their numbers, the citadel could not be taken. Only by scaling the wall in an undefended spot, the point above the Aglaurion on the north side, where because of the steepness of the cliffs no one had thought that they could climb up,⁸⁸ the Persians finally obtained possession of the fortress. And then the sacred enclosure with all its sanctuaries and the fortifications which still stood was burned and, as far as possible, destroyed;⁸⁹ the hundreds of statues and other votive offerings that had been gathered about the temples were either carried away by the rapacious barbarian or, in case their material could be turned to no account, thrown down

⁸⁸ HDT. VIII, 52; see p. 484.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 53 : τὸ ἱρὸν συλῆσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν κ. τ. λ.

and mutilated ; even the pedestals did not escape the devastating rage of the Persian. The ruin was complete.

Accordingly, a few days later, after the retreat of the invaders which followed their overwhelming defeat at Salamis, the returning Athenians beheld amongst the ruins of their sacred rock only a few dismantled, smoke-blackened walls ; perhaps the most of the great columns of the largest temple there, the Temple of Athena, were still standing ; for the Persians in all probability could not destroy the whole edifice to its very foundations. They burned what could be burned, and broke in pieces what they could ; but the temple walls and the columns were for the greater part left standing. That is obvious, even to the most casual observer, from the present condition of the architrave, triglyphs, metopes and cornice pieces built into the north wall of the Akropolis. These architectural members of the ancient temple, built into the wall in the manner in which we now find them, were not taken from the ruins of a collapsed building, but as the state of their preservation shows, they were carefully taken down from a building yet standing and placed with evident design in the position that they now occupy. Indeed, with the means at their command, the Persian soldiers would not have been able to destroy utterly a temple of the magnitude of the Hekatompedon ; they could only set it on fire and deface it. As long as gunpowder was unknown, the destruction of buildings in time of war could be complete only when they were of wood or other light material. To realize this fully, let us think, for example, of the temple at Corinth, of which, albeit the city was so many times completely destroyed, so much is still standing.⁹⁰

Immediately after their return from Salamis, the Athenians proceeded to restore temporarily their temples and their altars. New buildings were, for the present, entirely out of the question ; for in the very next year (September, 479 B. C.), owing to the treacherous policy of Sparta, the Akropolis fell a second time into the hands of Mardonios, who at first spared Attika purposely, still cherishing the hope of winning the Athenians over to his side ; but when he failed in this, he then destroyed everything that had

⁹⁰ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, xv, p. 424.

chanced to escape in the preceding year.⁹¹ Again returning from their temporary exile, the Athenians had not much more than a great heap of debris where once the glories of the age of Peisistratos had shone. How complete the destruction was we have most eloquent witnesses in the statues and architectural pieces, which, during the last few years, have again come forth from the ruin then created.

But when the enemy was gone and Hellas again breathed freely, the brave "sons of the Athenians" resolved that their old Kekropia should rise from its ashes in a new and brighter glory than their fathers had ever dreamed of. Themistokles, indeed, the great man who had safely piloted his country through the storms of 480-478, and who for centuries left the stamp of his genius so indelibly impressed upon the history and policy of Athens, tried to induce his countrymen to abandon their ruined homes and found a new empire about the Peiræus Bay. But it proved even more difficult to persuade the Athenians to leave their Akropolis with its shrines and sacred memories than it was to win the Romans a century later from the ruins of their Palatine and Capitol to a new and fairer home at Veii; and there, like the Romans, they staid, determined to see the magnificence of their new plans realized.

VII.—THE REBUILDING.—THEMISTOKLES-KIMON.

The Akropolis lay in ashes. It was a spot as worthy of a glorious resurrection as the need was great. On the very spot where the enemy had vented their wildest fury and in barbarian insolence had outraged the goddess herself, there the new splendor was most loudly to proclaim how Athens, with the help of the gods, whose sanctuaries had been burned, had fought and won against countless odds and laid the foundations of undreamed-of glory.⁹²

The leaders knew, however, that before all these plans should be accomplished a number of years must pass. In the first place,

⁹¹ HDT. IX, 13: ὑπεξεχώρει ἐμπρήσας τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ εἰ κού τι ὄρθον ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας—except, as we learn from Thukydides I, 89, 3, the few houses occupied by the Persian officers.

⁹² Cf. WACHSMUTH, *Stadt Athen*, I, p. 539.

the whole lower city was to be surrounded with a wall, in order that in future the inhabitants might not be compelled, at the approach of a dangerous enemy, to flee from their country and leave their homes and the temples of their gods to be mercilessly plundered and burned.⁹³ And in the next place, they were to adorn anew the sacred hill of Athena. Accordingly, they found it necessary to restore their temples and altars again only temporarily in a manner sufficing merely for the barest necessity. This includes, of course, the ancient temple of Athena as well as that of Erechtheus; for it were absurd to suppose that from the time of the Persian wars until the completion of the Parthenon—forty years—the protecting goddess of the city should have remained in total want of any sort of temple, or that the Athenians, especially during this period, when the amount of their public moneys and the number of their votive offerings increased so vastly, should have remained so long without a treasury in which to preserve them. Will any one interpose that the old Erechtheion may have been used for that purpose? No; for, in the first place, it was too small; in the second place, it served other purposes; and besides, on what possible grounds should we suppose that that sanctuary should be restored sooner than the temple of Athena? The conclusion is irresistible: the Hekatompedon must have been restored at once. Still no attempt was made to restore the ancient splendor of the old building, for the very reason that they had already begun to build on the more splendid new temple of the Polias. Therefore, paying no attention whatever to the colonnade or other outward ornament, they simply put the cella and the opisthodomos in order and made the necessary repairs. That the colonnade was entirely disregarded we can plainly see from the fact that when they came to rebuild the Erechtheion, nothing stood in the way of their placing the porch of the Korai immediately upon the pillarless stylobate of the old Hekatompedon. In just what the repairs consisted we can only surmise: a new roof, of course, was necessary as well as new doors; the holes in the walls were filled up and perhaps the whole building repainted. And then once more the treasure of Athena and the vessels and other utensils used in the sacred processions found secure keeping

⁹³ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XI, p. 163.

in the old opisthodomos, and here were deposited in 454 B. C. the funds of the Confederacy, which were in that year transferred from Delos to Athens.⁹⁴

Even these repairs, however, as I have said, were only temporary; for Themistokles had, perhaps, already planned the reconstruction both of all the sanctuaries of the Akropolis and of its circumscribing wall, and had begun to adorn in a manner worthy of such a capital the city that had now become the head of Hellas. A more favorable opportunity could never be offered than that which now came to Themistokles and his three great successors. Architecture, sculpture and painting were just on the eve of their first full perfection and glory; the people were elated by the fame of their glorious city; their navies ruled the seas; their harbor was the market place of the Grecian world; the tribute of a hundred cities and islands was poured into the coffers of Athens; the finest marble for the new works was to be had within a few miles of the city in almost inexhaustible quantities; and Athens was not wanting in the minds to conceive the plans nor the artists to execute them.⁹⁵

But only after the entire completion of the strong defensory wall about the city could Themistokles proceed to the work of adorning the citadel. Whether he himself began this work and really built the north wall which bears his name is not certain. At any rate, Kimon, if, indeed, he did not conceive the plan, carried forward the work, and the recent excavations have made it evident that he should be accredited with completing a greater portion of the great plan than has been heretofore attributed to him. To be sure, the most of the glory justly belongs to Perikles and his great artists; theirs it was to give to the Akropolis of Athens that radiance which made it for all time the centre of art for the world. But even the project that Kimon began to realize calls for our admiration and our wonder, not only on account of its magnitude, but on account of its political significance as well. It is an eloquent witness of the great national "boom," as we should call it, that followed upon the Persian wars.

⁹⁴ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XII, p. 200.

⁹⁵ Cf. CURTIUS, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, pp. 7-8.

They must, above all things, erect to the honor of their guardian goddess, Athena Polias, a magnificent temple exceeding in grandeur anything that Hellas had ever known. And to the adequate fulfilment of this purpose the first necessity was to surround the whole Akropolis on the outermost edge of the rock with a mighty, massive wall, which should serve not merely as a wall of defense, but even more as a supporting wall for the mass of stone and earth that was to raise and level the whole citadel to a single great plateau sloping from the middle gradually down to the splendid portal at the lower, western end.⁹⁶ In the execution of this plan the ruins of the older buildings destroyed by the Persians were turned to most excellent service. To utilize them for the new buildings was of course out of the question, for these were all to be of marble, while without exception all the pre-Persian buildings were of poros, having, at most, a few single architectural designs of marble. But for his great Akropolis wall Kimon made unlimited use of all sorts of fragments from the old dismantled temples—ashlar blocks, pieces of entablature, drums of columns, in short all sorts of old building material. It is also for the most part easily recognizable that in the employment of such material they endeavored not to have the old building material appear as such, but, by working off their former outlines, to make them look as much like the new squared building stone of the wall as possible.⁹⁷ Such is the case, for example, with the thirteen poros drums from the colonnade of the Hekatompedon that are built into the south wall above the theatre and the Asklepieion; for their new purpose they were worked over into cubic blocks in such a way that only single flutings on the corners betray the end they originally served. On the other hand, however, when we find those architectural members of that same old Athena temple built, without the stroke of a chisel, into the north wall and in the most conspicuous spot about the whole Akropolis, we may be sure that some definite object, higher than the mere utilization of old material was aimed at by the builders. These portions of epistyle with the corresponding triglyphs, metopes, cornice, drums and capitals, were, as before remarked, carefully taken down and built into this wall in

⁹⁶ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XI, p. 165.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

precisely the same order and relative position that they had occupied on the old temple of the Polias; and since this is true, their present arrangement, or even their presence in the wall in their original form, is not due, as most people since Leake have thought, to the haste in which the wall was thrown together by Themistokles, but they were deliberately planned and carefully set up in the most conspicuous part of the wall on the north side of the Akropolis toward the city proper, to serve not only as an ornament to the wall, but also as an "eternal reminder to the people of the national hatred toward the Barbarians."⁹⁸


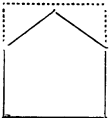
The manner and method on which they proceeded in the construction of this great retaining wall—for such the whole Kimonian wall is—and the filling which it was intended to support are clearly shown by the subjoined photographs (PL. XVI). The builders did not first construct the wall to its full height and then fill in the triangular space behind it with earth and débris, but on technical grounds, to make the wall the stronger and save scaffolding besides, as soon as they had put up two or three courses of ashlar the space behind was filled up with stones of the greatest variety: many an old building stone which, on account of its irregular form, or because it had been too badly injured in the late catastrophe, could not be used in any of the new works, found a place here as filling. Converted to the same purpose we find mutilated statues, fractured pedestals, broken slabs containing inscriptions, and all sorts of other ruins that lay at hand upon the Akropolis. What else could they have done with such rubbish? A statue minus head or arms or legs was at that time as worthless as, for instance, a broken piece of cornice or a cracked drum from a column. Behind the Akropolis wall, accordingly, with the rest of the debris left by the Persians, that invaluable array of archaic statues has lain buried all these centuries, preserved against the destroying hand of time and of vandal, and awaiting resurrection in these latter days.

Such were the component parts of the first stratum of the filling material behind the new wall. Over this stratum of stones and fragments of every description they spread a layer of earth,

⁹⁸ BEULÉ, *L'Acropole d'Athènes* I, p. 97.

in order that the workmen in laying up the next course of the wall might have a better platform on which to stand, while at the same time the earth served to make both wall and filling more solid. And while the workmen hewed and trimmed the blocks of stone in the next course, this layer of earth itself in turn became covered with a thin stratum of splinters chipped from the poros blocks of which the wall is built.

The mass of filling piled inside and against the Kimonian wall consists, therefore, as may be clearly seen in the photographs (Pl. xvi), of a repeated succession of three distinct, approximately horizontal strata, composed by turns of 1) comparatively large pieces of stone, 2) earth, and 3) chips of poros.⁹⁹ In many places also the old "Pelasgian" wall, lying inside Kimon's new wall, was covered up in the process of building and so itself also served as filling.

To make clear the relative position of the mass of débris used in grading up the Akropolis to the magnificent plateau as we know it, let me make use of Dr. Dörpfeld's illustration: "Let us compare the vertical section of the natural rock of the Akropolis with the vertical section of an ordinary gable-roofed house. The sides of the house correspond to the steep sides of the Akropolis, and the oblique lines of the roof to the upper surface of the hill, gently sloping, as it originally did, from the middle toward the two sides [—thus:  Now let us suppose the vertical walls of the house raised to the height of the ridge-pole [—thus:  and we have what corresponds to Kimon's wall; fill in the two triangular spaces thus made, and we have the Akropolis as it was when the wall was finished."

The wall itself, which was probably not fully completed until Perikles' time, is in accordance with its designation as a revetment for the embankment behind it, very different in different places. Along the *temenos* of the Brauronian Artemis, for example, and adjoining it on the east, the live rock of the Akropolis extends on a level plane almost to the south wall, and this is true to a large extent on the north side as well; so that in these places there was no need of a retaining wall, for there was nothing

⁹⁹ DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, xi, pp. 166-7.

to fill up except a few fissures and crevices, and we find there, about the upper edge of the rock, an ornamental wall rather than a revetment. On the other hand, in front of the Parthenon, in the southeast corner of the Akropolis, the rock inclines rather steeply to the south and here a deposit of earth on a gigantic scale was found necessary. And as a matter of fact, the piles of earth and stone in this quarter were from ten to fourteen metres high. Commensurate with such a mass the wall, which, as far as it can be seen, is based immediately upon the rock, is not less than 15 to 16 metres high and 6.60 to 7.20 metres thick—capable of resisting an enormous pressure from the earth piled up within.

In this way the upper surface of the Akropolis was increased by about one-fifth its former size and assumed an essentially different appearances from that which it had presented before. In the course of this essay we have seen that ancient, rugged, chasmrent rock filled up so as to present a series of little plateaus; we have seen it occupied by dwellings and smaller sanctuaries; we have discovered there a splendid royal palace and a gigantic, nine-gated fortress; in the age of the despots there arose a stately temple and probably other buildings; but with all this, the general form of the hill had been but little affected—a ridge above, sloping down to precipitous sides. But with the addition of Kimon's wall the whole appearance of the Akropolis is changed; it is now one great plateau, sloping only from the middle to the portal in the west.

What now, we next ask, did Kimon build upon the plateau thus obtained? First of all, as a memorial of the glorious struggle just past, this unwearying old Persian-fighter had Pheidias construct from the booty that fell into the hands of the Athenians at Marathon¹⁰⁰ the far-famed, colossal statue of Athena in bronze—the so-called Athena Promachos. The epithet Promachos, like Parthenos, is of comparatively late origin; earlier she is known as “the (large) bronze Athena”¹⁰¹ or, “the Athena of

¹⁰⁰ Or with the Persian gold that the arch-traitor, Arthmios, brought with him to Hellas with which to Medise his fellow-countrymen. Cf. DEM. XIX, 271; DINARCH, II, 24.

¹⁰¹ ARISTIDES L, p. 408, 15. I; PAUS. IX, 4, 1; DEM. XIX, 271; OV. *Ex Ponto*, IV, 1, 31.

Marathon.”¹⁰² Unfortunately we can gain from ancient literature and art no exact knowledge with reference either to the location or to the pose of this famous statue. Regarding the first question, topographers have usually, and with probable correctness, identified as the basis of the Promachos the large, rectangular pedestal, in part still preserved, about half way between the Propylaia and the old temple of Athena (Pl. xv). The second question presents still greater difficulty; on this point the ancient authors are silent and the evidence of the few bronze coins in existence with representations of the Akropolis are utterly untrustworthy, for they present now a warrior-goddess with wildly brandished spear and uplifted shield, and again a peaceful goddess of the Parthenos type with spear and shield resting at her side and with a Nike on her hand. We are, therefore, left to our own devices to restore the monument. We know that the statue was colossal; this our sources tell us;¹⁰³ but how high it was can never be told; we know only that without the pedestal its height was less than sixty feet. And it seems to me, in accordance with the data we have, most probable that the goddess stood armed, looking directly toward Salamis, where she had given her people the last assistance within their own territory against the barbarian hosts. In her right hand she held her lance, not brandished aloft, as many have supposed, but planted upright upon the ground beside her with the point projecting slightly above her helmet's crest.¹⁰⁴ Her shield also, which Mys, the famous engraver, about a generation later adorned with a Kentauiromachia and other scenes¹⁰⁵ after drawings by Parrhasios, she supported with her left hand, while the lower rim rested upon the ground; held otherwise, the effect of this new ornamentation by Mys, which was certainly intended to be seen, would have been entirely lost.

The old fortifications on the west were, as we have already seen, as far as it was possible in the case of so massive a structure and with the means at their command, dismantled by the Per-

¹⁰² ARISTIDES XLVI, p. 218, § 1.

¹⁰³ PAUS. I, 28, 2; IX, 4, 1; PLIN. XXXIV, 54; DEM. XIX, 271.

¹⁰⁴ This seems to me to be stated by PAUS. I, 28, 2, beyond the possibility of a misunderstanding.

¹⁰⁵ PAUS., *loc. cit.*

sians. It must, therefore, have been one of Kimon's first tasks to make the citadel as impregnable again as it had been before. And that the old gateway was not essentially changed, but only repaired and perhaps improved in outward appearance—of that we have sufficient proof in the remains. In the angle formed by the southwest wing with the middle hall of the Mnesiklean Propylaia is to be seen the main portion of what is left of the older gate-way (abc, on Pl. xv). It was planned to be an integral part of the old "Pelasgic" fortifications; the corner (b) is built into the end of the upper wall of the Pelargikon; the southeast side of this older Propylaia (iab) was a solid wall of poros blocks faced with thin marble slabs, while the adjoining wall on the southwest ends in an anta of marble (c). Next to the anta, on the northwest, we see the beginning of a marble threshold, on the continuation of which presumably columns once stood. We should notice also that, conformably to its design as an organic part of the Pelargikon, the old Propylaia faces southwest, whereas the orientation of the Mnesiklean Propylaia is directly west. Corresponding to the façade in the southwest and on a line parallel with it, we find in the central doorway of the present building the natural rock cut in the form of steps (f) to receive the foundation stones of some building older than the Periklean Propylaia; this marks the line of a colonnade (ei) on the east front, like the one opposite on the west.

This older portal has often been called Kimon's Propylaia. It is, however, probably much older than Kimon and was merely repaired under his direction, like many another building left in ruins by the Persians. That it was in existence before his time is rendered probable, though not absolutely certain, by the manner of its destruction; for evident traces of fire here and there on ruins¹⁰⁶ that have remained buried since the days of Perikles point almost beyond a question to the great conflagrations of 480 and 479 B. C. We may, therefore, safely conclude that the Akropolis from the beginning had a great gate at this spot, that the gateway which we have been considering had the same general outline, at least, as the one built by the "Pelasgians," that the marble decorations may have been added, perhaps, by Peisistratos

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* I, pp. 78 and 79.

or his sons, who did so much to beautify their city, that it shared in the general havoc wrought by the barbarians and in the general repairing done by Themistokles and Kimon.

It was beyond the power of the Greeks of old to conceive of one only God, omnipotent, eternal, alone creating and governing the universe, and yet there was implanted in their souls such a longing for one god, that individually, in families and in tribes, they directed their worship not to the multitude of national divinities,¹⁰⁷ but to some one deity to whom *κατ' ἐξοχήν* they paid their homage and their vows and on whom they relied for help and support in success and defeat. And so each state had some one deity whom that state honored above all other gods and who stood nearer to it than to any other and nearer than any other god. As Hera was to Argos or Poseidon to Corinth, so Athena was to Athens. She had now once more saved her city and her people and given them new glories; and the first as well as the greatest and grandest of all Kimon's undertakings was the erection in her honor of a temple that should far surpass in size and in splendor the one that had been burned. Indeed, it was to be even larger as planned by Kimon than it proved to be as completed by Iktinos and Kallikrates. Kimon's workmen had begun, almost at the very beginning of his administration, even before¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Cf. ERNST CURTIUS, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ The priority is certain on technical grounds; at a slight distance from the substructure of the Parthenon and nearly parallel to it, we find a wall of inferior construction (HJ, on PL. xv). The small interval between this wall and the temple was found by the excavators filled with alternating layers of the debris left by the Persians, and of poros chips made by the masons at work on the basis of the temple. Thus the purpose of this wall and the chronological relations existing between the different constructions in that quarter are made clear; the substructure of the Parthenon was built before the south wall of the Akropolis, with the ten to fourteen metres of grading behind it, was begun. The purpose of the wall HJ was to save the expense and the trouble of so much scaffolding as would have been required for the building of the base of the Parthenon on that side. And so they proceeded, just as in the construction of the wall about the citadel, first laying up one or two courses on the Parthenon, then bringing up their platform—the wall HJ with the filling between it and the temple—and then proceeding as before. When later the plan to raise the Akropolis to one great plateau was put into complete execution and the south wall was built, then this platform, wall and all, was covered up, along with the old "Pelagic" wall and everything else that had outlived its usefulness.

From this two conclusions of much importance for the history of the Akropolis follow: (1) The foundations beneath the Parthenon were built after the Persian

the erection of the wall on the south side of the Akropolis, to construct the great platform on which was to stand the most magnificent temple that the world has ever seen. The foundations were all done; the great drums for the columns lay already half-finished on the grounds; but Kimon was fated never to finish the stately temple that he had brought thus far toward completion, for in the year 460 B. C., his ungrateful country at the instigation of Perikles sent him into exile from the native land which he had loved so well and for which he had done so much.

VIII.—THE AGE OF PERIKLES.

With this event, upon which Perikles became the recognized leader of the Athenian state, we enter upon the climax of a period unequalled in all antiquity and never outshone in the whole history of the world. We may say that during the forty-eight years from the calm that began in the autumn of 479 until the first great breakers of the Peloponnesian war dashed over proud Athens, the vastness and magnificence of the building projects executed under the leadership and direction of Themistokles, Kimon and Perikles have never since been equalled and scarcely approached.

By the side of the third and greatest of the three great statesmen stood his friend and co-equal, Pheidias, who superintended during his life at Athens the artistic execution of all the buildings of Perikles. The financial prosperity and the generous ambition of the state placed at his command most abundant means with which to consummate his magnificent plan for transforming the whole Akropolis into one sacred precinct for Athena.¹⁰⁹ "And so," in Plutarch's¹¹⁰ enthusiastic words, "the works grew, all-surpassing in their magnitude, inimitable in their beauty and grace, as every workman vied with his fellow in substituting for

invasion and not by Peisistratos as, previous to the excavations, had always been supposed; and (2) The wall on the south side of the Akropolis was built after, but not long after the substructure of the Parthenon, for otherwise the wall HJ would not have been built at all. Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, x, p. 275.

¹⁰⁹ Both HDT. (e. g. VIII, 51-55) and THUK. (e. g. I, 126) call the whole Akropolis τὸ ἱ(ε)ρόν, and so does AR. (Lys. 482-483).

¹¹⁰ *Per.* 13.

mere handiwork elegance of artistic execution; and still the most wonderful feature of all was the speed with which the work was completed. Those edifices, any one of which alone, one might think, would have required the work of many successive generations, were all (*sic!*) finished in the prime of one man's administration. Ease and speed of execution seldom tend to give a work lasting importance or exquisite beauty; while on the other hand, the time expended in the creation of a work is more than repaid in the endurance of the work done. And so we have even greater reason to wonder that the structures reared by Perikles should have been built in so short a time and yet have been built for ages; for as each of them, as soon as completed, was already ancient in its beauty, so, now they are old [almost five centuries have elapsed since their erection], they are fresh and new as in their pristine glory. Time has left no stain upon them; a kind of newness sheds its bloom around them, preserving them untarnished by the ages, as if they were possessed of a spirit that can never fade and a soul that never grows old."

Under Kimon's administration every thing done seems to have borne some relation to the recent struggle for Hellenic liberty; under the direction of Perikles, on the other hand, the public works erected had an entirely different character: it was no longer the Athens that had borne the brunt of war and repulsed forever the Asiatic from the shores of Greece, but the Athens that stood blooming in the plenitude of peace and prosperity at the head of a mighty maritime confederation.

Perikles' first care was to complete the temple of the Polias, that had been begun by his old opponent Kimon; for the Parthenon also must henceforth be considered one of the temples of Athena Polias, and a seat of the cultus of the goddess as Polias. The truth of this statement is placed beyond all question by the following considerations:

(1) The decorations of the frieze cannot lack all ideal connection with the temple that it adorns. Now, the frieze of the Parthenon represents in its whole length a sacred procession given in honor of Athena Polias alone—the Panathenaia, the greatest festival of the Polias; in the very middle of the frieze, directly over the door of the temple, stands the priestess of Athena Polias her-

self.¹¹ And in the cella of this temple the victors in those great games in honor of the Polias were crowned. All this points directly to none other than Athena Polias as the indweller of the Periklean Parthenon. And who else should be? For the Parthenon was certainly a temple with a cultus (the idea of "festal temples," primarily intended to be used in connection with the games and without a cultus, is a myth invented by a German conjecture); and as "Parthenos" was perhaps never, certainly not in early times, a cultus-name, to whom should we *a priori* more fittingly ascribe the largest and most beautiful temple of Athens than to the guardian goddess of the city herself? Still these four arguments, one *a priori*, two from the frieze—the priestess of the Polias in the most prominent position in it, and the representation of the games in honor of the Polias—and, as fourth argument, the fact that the victors in these games were crowned in the temple of the Polias,—all this renders the case only probable.

(2) Fortunately, however, we have more than the logic of probabilities; we can gather from the official names of the temples of Athena a direct and conclusive proof that the Parthenon was called "the temple of Athena Polias" (ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος). In official inscriptions the Hekatompedon is generally termed ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὸς (the old temple); such a designation necessarily presupposes the existence of a newer temple, which might be called either ὁ καινός (the new) or ὁ μέγας νεὸς (the great temple), or briefly ὁ νεὸς (the temple). That this newer temple must be the Parthenon is doubted by no one. Furthermore, in one inscription (CIA. II. 464), also an official document, we find ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος (the old temple of Athena Polias). "The old temple of Athena Polias" demands likewise, as a necessary presupposition, the existence of a "newer temple of Athena Polias," which again might be called ὁ καινός (the new), or ὁ μέγας (the great), or simply ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος (the temple of Athena Polias). Should we find one of these three names, with no closer designation of the temple referred to, we could be certain of one of two things: either the Parthenon would be meant, or else possibly the eastern cella of the

¹¹¹ MICHAELIS, *Parth.*, p. 255.

Erechtheion. As a matter of fact, the name does occur, and more than once, in the inventories of the stewards of Athena (*cf.* *CIA.* II, 332; *Mith. Athen.*, VIII, p. 59); here again we have official documents, which we know for a certainty refer to treasures preserved in the opisthodomos of the Parthenon, and we have as its official name ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος (*the temple of Athena Polias*).¹¹²

(3) Again, it is on all sides granted that the Parthenon was built to supplace the Hekatompedon, which had been burned by the Persians. Now, the Hekatompedon was a temple of Athena Polias; its official name, as we have just seen, is ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος (*the old temple of Athena Polias*); and it needs no proof that the Erechtheion, which had only just been built, or was not yet even finished, could never be called ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὸς (*the old temple*). What sort of a temple, then, could take the old one's place other than a new temple of Athena Polias?

(4) As a last argument, if further argument were needed, let me add that nearly all the votive offerings, the sacrificial vessels and all the sacred utensils used in the processions belonged to Athena Polias; Athena Parthenos, as far as we can see from the public records, did not possess a single votive offering nor a single obol in cash. How, then, could she lay claim to the largest and most splendid temple of the citadel? And, finally, even the so-called Parthenos of Pheidias is named, in the one inscription¹¹³ that mentions the chryselephantine statue of the Akropolis, Athena Polias, and the name Parthenos, as applied to the statue, is of late origin.

Accordingly to sum up the results of this quadruple proof, we find that the Parthenon is not merely a temple of Athena Polias but the temple of Athena Polias (ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος).

The foregoing explanation makes clear the relation existing between the Hekatompedon and the Parthenon, both temples of Athena Polias. But still it remains for some keen-sighted scholar to discover the relation borne by these two temples to a third, the eastern cella of the Erechtheion—also without a doubt

¹¹² DÖRPFELD, *Mith. Athen.*, XII, p. 194.

¹¹³ *Cf. Mith. Athen.*, v. pp. 89 sq., and xv, pp. 430 sq., where the inscription is twice quoted.

a νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος (a temple of Athena Polias). Dörpfeld suggests the following as a solution of the problem: "When the stately marble temple [the Parthenon] was completed, the two old poros buildings [the Hekatompedon and the old Erechtheion] looked rather shabby beside the new splendor, and so it was resolved to replace both with a double sanctuary beneath one common roof—the new Erechtheion."

The fallacy in this hypothesis is evident: in the first place, one of these poros buildings had already been replaced by the Parthenon; why should it be replaced again and then still left standing? And in the second place, as was shown p. 478, Erechtheus and Athena had had a common temple under one roof from the beginning. And so we are no nearer the solution of the difficulty than we were before.

Only one other effort to throw light upon this question is known to me: Miss Jane Harrison¹¹⁴ cuts the Gordian knot with the astounding statement that "The belief that the eastern half of the Erechtheion was called the cella of Athena rests, so far as I am aware, wholly upon the testimony of Pausanias. The image was simply one of many curiosities kept in the Erechtheion, and though it lived in the east cella, did not give that cella any particular name. The Erechtheion is, as Pausanias viewed it, a shrine of cults of more or less obsolete significance—a museum for the symbols of these cults. Viewed thus as a museum, *etc.*" Even if Miss Harrison's surmise as to the source of the designation of the eastern cella of the Erechtheion as a shrine of the Polias were correct, still her conclusion would not follow. It was in the Erechtheion, as she grants, that Pausanias saw the old xoanon and the ever-burning lamp of Kallimachos; these two objects are repeatedly and distinctly mentioned by other ancient writers¹¹⁵ besides Pausanias as being in the sanctuary of Athena. Moreover the existence of a temple common to Erechtheus and Athena is, beyond a possibility of a misinterpretation of their words, familiar to the ancient writers from Homer,¹¹⁶ down through

¹¹⁴ HARRISON and VERRALL, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 508–9.

¹¹⁵ PLUT. *Sulla*, 13; STRAB. IX, p. 396; and others.

¹¹⁶ *Iliad*, II, 546.

Æschines,¹¹⁷ Aristides,¹¹⁸ Plutarch,¹¹⁹ Pausanias¹²⁰ and Strabo,¹²¹ to Harpokration,¹²² Hesychios,¹²³ Himerios,¹²⁴ Philochoros¹²⁵ and Eustathios.¹²⁶ And finally Miss Harrison upsets her own theory by taking out of her "Museum" nearly all the curiosities that "Pausanias viewed there" and putting them into the opisthodomos of the Hekatompedon, and concludes her whole discussion by implying, if not declaring outright, that the Erechtheion was at one time *the* temple of Athena Polias: "The Erechtheion," she says, "is a museum; it no longer strives to keep its head above the water as the original Athene temple, but sinks with a sense of relief into dignified, because natural subordination." Did important cultus-temples in antiquity naturally sink into mere museums? I leave the unbiased reader to judge.

The question I have raised remains, therefore, unanswered. The relationship existing between the Erechtheion and the Hekatompedon and Parthenon has not yet been discovered and perhaps never will be. Perhaps there was none. It may be that the Polias was worshipped in two or even three shrines independent of one another.

The Parthenon, however, to resume our narrative, is only a part, though the most important part, of the magnificent plan of Perikles and his "table round" for making of the Akropolis one great votive offering for Athena. But scarcely had the Parthenon been dedicated (438 B. C.)—and it was even then not yet entirely completed—when Pheidias was compelled to leave Athens. Nevertheless, the building enterprises of the city went on without interruption; for Perikles' great plan was as yet far from being realized. In the very next year after his departure, Mnesikles began, under the direction of Perikles, to build the imposing portal, which was to prove one of the principal wonders of the Akropolis. And still the citadel was no less a mighty fortress than before.

Five years was the Propylaia in building; in that time the

¹¹⁷ II, 147.

¹¹⁸ XIII, p. 107, 6. (III, p. 62, ed. Dind).

¹¹⁹ *Sympos. Quæst.* IX, 6, p. 741; *Sulla*, 13.

¹²⁰ I, 26, 6-7; I, 27, 1.

¹²¹ IX, p. 396.

¹²² *S. v. Βούτης.*

¹²³ *S. v. οἰκουρὸν θεῖον.*

¹²⁴ *Ecl.* 5, 30.

¹²⁵ *ad Od.* I, 356.

¹²⁶ *Frag.* 146 ap DIONYS HAL. *de Div.* 13.

original plans of the architect had to suffer many changes,¹²⁷ and even so, before the structure had received the finishing touches, the Peloponnesian war broke out and the work was suspended never again to be resumed.

And now came the turn of the old poros Erechtheion to be rebuilt; and so some time after the dedication of the Parthenon, work was begun upon the most elegant and unique building of antiquity. After many interruptions this last architectural monument of the glory of Periklean Athens was finally completed in the later years of the Peloponnesian War. In the years of storm and stress, 413–411, all work was necessarily abandoned; but as soon as relief came, as it did through the victories of Alkibiades at Kyzikos in 410, work was at once resumed upon the neglected building; a new commission was appointed, whose first business was to take a complete inventory of the condition of the building. In a similar inventory of the following year we find the work on the frieze progressing rapidly, and in the next year (408–407) the temple was probably finished.

Of the older Erechtheion nothing, of course, is left; the old *μαρτύρια*—the salt spring and the marks of the trident—could not be moved into a new temple, and therefore the old building to the last stone must yield and give place to the new one.

A glance at the plan reveals a curious phenomenon with respect to the Erechtheion; the porch of the Korai is built directly upon the stylobate of the old Hekatompedon; the columns of the temple had long ago been built into the Akropolis wall or otherwise disposed of. Those six exquisite Attic maidens who support the roof are thus made to face squarely against a limestone wall at least twice as high as their heads and almost within arm's length. Such a crying outrage could have been committed by the builders only with the intention and in the sure expectation that the old temple would soon disappear. But did it? In the year 409–408 the Erechtheion was still uncompleted, but it must have been finished soon after that. "In 406–405," says Xenophon (Hel. i, 6, 1), "ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη (the old

¹²⁷ We owe the reconstruction of the Propylaia after the original plans of Mnesikles to the brilliant genius of Dörpfeld. The high-water mark of research in the realm of ancient architecture is reached in his two essays in the *Mittheilungen Athen*, X. pp. 38 sq. and 181 sq.

temple of Athena at Athens was burned);¹²⁸ and in spite of the troubles that followed with the loss of all her power, Athens again, in 395–394, repaired the beloved old temple.¹²⁹ Xenophon's words used always to be interpreted as referring to the Erechtheion; but that Xenophon should have called a temple less than two years old, and perhaps not even dedicated as yet, a *παλαιὸς νεὸς* (an old temple), is quite incredible.

And still for many years after the fire the old temple continued in use. We find again in an official record (*CIA.* II, 758): *τάδε ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου νεῷ παρέδωκεν ἡ ἱερεία τοῖς ἐπιστάταις τοῖς ἐπὶ Θουδήμου ἀρχοντος εἰς τὸν Παρθενῶνα*—a list of articles transferred from the ancient temple to the Parthenon in the archonship of Thoudemos 358 (or 354) B. C. With this all official mention of the Hekatompedon ceases.

But how long it still stood can never be precisely known. The Akropolis suffered no violence for centuries afterward, and the present condition of the ruins betokens a late and a gradual disappearance of the building. Pausanias and Plutarch both saw it, and it is altogether possible, if not probable, that it was pulled down like many another building in Byzantine times for building over the Parthenon, Erechtheion, etc., into Christian churches.¹³⁰

But there is no occasion for tarrying over the temples of the age of Perikles. And with such books as Lloyd's *Age of Pericles*, Adolf Schmidt's *Das Perikleische Zeitalter*, Michaelis' *Der Parthenon*, Hertzberg's *Athen*, Penrose's *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, and Ernst Curtius' brief but admirably written and delightfully entertaining dissertation *Die Akropolis von Athen*—with such books as these at every reader's command, a brief and inadequate account of the creations of the days of Athens' glory, such as I might give, would be worse than superfluous. As has been observed in the preface, the picture presented by the Athenian Akropolis in the days that immediately followed Perikles is so

¹²⁸ It may very well have been set on fire by the priests belonging to the new temple, who were, of course, as anxious to get it out of the way as those of the old temple were to save it. Anyway, the former seem to have been tried on the charge of arson; cf. *Dem.* XXIV, 136: *καὶ οἱ ταμίαι ἐφ' ὧν ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἐνεπρήσθη καὶ οἱ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκῇματι τούτῳ ἦσαν ἕως κρίσεως αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο.*

¹²⁹ Inscription published by Ulrich Köhler in *Hermes* II, p. 21.

¹³⁰ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XII, pp. 60–61.

fully and definitely known, from the buildings preserved and from literature, that differences of opinion concerning it are possible on minor points only. New discoveries and more penetrating investigations of the monuments we have can make no essential changes in that picture. It is for these reasons that I pass the age of Periklēs by, picking up only such fibres as are needed to spin the thread of history.

When Kimon's wall was finished, the Promachos unveiled, the Parthenon dedicated, the Propylaia with the temple of Athena Nike erected, and the Erechtheion rebuilt,—then the Akropolis was essentially complete; and notwithstanding all that the later Greeks and Romans built upon and about it, the Akropolis had years before received everything that gave to it its historical character and its influence upon the world to come. It stood there then, rising grandly above the busy city of commerce and trade in the midst of which it stood, the colossal pedestal of the temples, with all its parts working harmoniously together to one sublime work of art, at last one great and worthy sanctuary to the daughter of Zeus.

In these days also came to the Akropolis a vast number of votive offerings and dedications of every description, brought to the precinct of the goddess on any and every occasion, by individuals and by the State. Of votive offerings on the part of the State, Pausanias mentions several: the Athena Lemnia of Pheidias himself, as well as his (?) Apollo Parnopios, the Hekate Epipyrgidia of his pupil Alkamenes, the Sosandra of Kalamis, the Athena Hygieia of Pyrrhos, Myron's cow, *etc.*

We have but a very meagre account indeed of these great public donations; and since such is the case with them, how wholly unable must we be to form any correct conception of the overflowing abundance of the offerings that came from private sources to fill the sacred precinct.

IX.—THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

The breaking out of the calamitous war with Sparta, draining Athens of her money as well as of the flower of her manhood, was still not enough to put an end to the architectural and plastic adornment of her citadel. In the various shorter or longer inter-

vals of peace the work went on, though it was greatly limited in extent. So, for example, the rebuilding of the Erechtheion especially was continued and completed before the war was entirely over. Besides this, the Akropolis received even during the war many an additional ornament, in the way of offerings of statuary, not only from private individuals, but from the State also. For example, in honor of the victory at Sphakteria a bronze Victory was dedicated and set up upon the citadel,¹³¹ and Nikias, as a token of gratitude for his victories, consecrated to the goddess a gilded Palladion.¹³² The decoration by Mys of the shield of the so-called Promachos, already described, was also made at about this time—a further recognition of the goddess's protecting care. It was, furthermore, not long before 414¹³³ that, by the generosity of Chaeredemos, the Trojan Horse of Strongylion was set up in his place, and that Alkibiades hung up his two Nemean pictures in the Pinakotheke.¹³⁴

But important above all the portraits placed upon the Akropolis in that day is the one of Perikles by Kresilas, familiar to every student through the copies that have come down to us.¹³⁵

And, finally, let us not neglect at least to mention that even in those troublous times Athens did not forget the gods, but at no little sacrifice consecrated new cultus statues, a Zeus Polieus, for example, and an Artemis Brauronia of gold and ivory (?)—the former a creation of Leochares,¹³⁶ the latter of Praxiteles¹³⁷ (probably the elder). Both these new statues, be it noted, were placed beside the old ones, which were, indeed, inartistic enough, but at

¹³¹ PAUS. IV, 36, 6.

¹³² In Plutarch's day the plating had become worn off. Cf. PLUT. *Nic.* 3: 'Ἐσθῆκει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸ τε Παλλᾶδιον ἐν Ἀκροπόλει, τῇ ν χρύσωσιν ἀποβεβληκός.

¹³³ For Aristophanes in the *Birds* (brought out in 414), vs. 1128, alludes to it. Cf. also PAUS. I, 23, 8; LÖWY, *Inscriptionen Griechischer Bildhauer*, No. 52; CIA. I, 406.

¹³⁴ PAUS. I, 22, 7; PLUT., *Alc.* 16; SATYROS *ap.* ATHEN. XII, p. 534, D.

¹³⁵ OVERBECK, *SQ.* 873.

¹³⁶ PAUS. I, 24, 4.

¹³⁷ PAUS. I, 23, 7; cf. also FRIEDRICHS, *Praxiteles und die Niobegruppe*; STUDNICZKA, *Vermuthungen zur Kunstgesch.*, p. 18, and *Zeitschr. f. Oestr. Gymn.* 1886, p. 686; SCHREIBER, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.* 1885, No. 19; ROBERT, *Archaeol. Märchen*.

the same time so hallowed with age that no new ones could ever take their place. In short, the Akropolis continued to be the centre of interest for art and architecture even during that long exhausting war, and to receive in ever increasing numbers these peculiar gifts of the Athenian people.

We are standing now upon the border of Athenian independence. With the humiliating reverses of the years 405–403 and the rule of the Thirty Tyrants, had departed, as far as might then be, the old glory of Athens. But before we cross that border, let us consider two buildings, of which the one can be dated only approximately, the other not at all.

(1) Upon the first terrace to the right, as one passes through the Propylaia, Pausanias saw the sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis (see PL. xv.), and within it the chryselephantine (?) statue made by Praxiteles; there stood also within this shrine a work of Myron's—a *χαλκοῦς παῖς* (a bronze boy), holding the basin containing the holy water.¹³⁸ We have not the faintest suggestion from antiquity as to when this temple was erected. We can form no notion in regard to its appearance; for not only are the ancient authors silent on this point, but, furthermore, not a single trace of such a temple could be found in the last excavations. Foundations, indeed, were found—two porticoes (see PL. xv.), the one along the southern, the other along the eastern boundary of the Brauronian terrace, the two meeting at right angles at the southeast corner. The temple itself—if there ever really was one, and there must necessarily have been one if Praxiteles' temple-statue was indeed of gold and ivory—must have been completely obliterated by the Venetians when they shifted the road leading to the Akropolis, so that it passed around the south side of the Propylaia.¹³⁹

(2) Many scholars have long clung with unyielding tenacity to the idea that there was a temple of Athena Ergane upon the next terrace to the east, between the Brauronian terrace and the Parthenon (see PL. xv.); but in the light of the last excavations this idea must be given up without reserve; for in the course of the last few years it has grown clearer and clearer that there never was

¹³⁸ PAUS. I, 23, 7.

¹³⁹ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mithth. Athen*, XII, p. 117.

upon the Akropolis of Athens a specific temple of Athena as Ergane. Not only was not the faintest trace of such a temple discovered there, but we find instead another building which covers considerably more than half of the whole terrace, and is obviously the long-sought Chalkotheke (see PL. XV.); for its shape and arrangement forbid that it should have been a temple or anything but a great magazine. It is one of the largest edifices on the Akropolis—41 metres long, and including the porch, which is about 3.50 metres deep, 18.50 metres wide. It consists, furthermore, of only a single great hall, the south wall of which is the Akropolis wall itself. It is of somewhat later date than the Parthenon; for the rock-cut steps (KL) between the two buildings were made contemporaneously with the Parthenon, and are manifestly older than the Chalkotheke, inasmuch as they extend clear to the Akropolis wall. Much hard work for nothing would certainly have been spared, had not the stairs been constructed earlier than the magazine; for the triangle between the Chalkotheke and the end of the stairs was useless, and had to be filled up, thus covering that part of the stairs completely. The Parthenon is, therefore, older than the Chalkotheke, but not much older. The proof of this is found in the building-material in the foundations: the buildings of the v century B. C. are uniformly supported by substructions of Peiraieus stone, those of the iv and iii centuries by substructions of breccia. Inasmuch, therefore, as Peiraieus stone was still employed for the Chalkotheke, its erection will fall at the end of the v or the beginning of the iv century B. C.; this, furthermore, is in complete harmony with the official records, where the first mention of the Chalkotheke is made in the year 358 (or 354).¹⁴⁰

The next question is, what was kept in this immense magazine? The inventories of the stewards (*ταμίαι*) reveal the fact that its contents consisted of chairs, couches, cups, crowns, shields, greaves, *etc.*, *etc.* One inscription¹⁴¹ mentions 1500 Lakonian shields; another¹⁴² bears record of 43,300 objects of one kind—the name is lost—and of a considerable number of various engines

¹⁴⁰ DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, xiv, p. 311.

¹⁴¹ *CIA.* II, 678.

¹⁴² *CIA.* II, 733.

of war besides; so there must have been a great array of weapons of every sort stowed away in the building. All this wealth belonged to the *ιερά χρήματα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς*¹⁴³ (the sacred treasures of Athena), and was under the supervision of the same stewards as the possessions of the goddess in the opisthodomos of the Parthenon. The inventories of both localities were sometimes even inscribed upon the same slab.¹⁴⁴ It therefore proves to be, as Michaelis long ago conjectured,¹⁴⁵ a “dependency” of the Parthenon, to receive things that could not find lodgment in the temple; and now we find that both magazines—opisthodomos and Chalkotheke—so closely connected in purpose, are also outwardly immediately united by means of the wide flight of stairs between them.

X.—THE AKROPOLIS IN HELLENISTIC TIMES.

From the close of the Peloponnesian War down to Herodes Attikos, there were but two men whose names have been rendered immortal by their connection with great building projects in and about Athens—Lykourgos and Philon; and their activity, though epoch-making in Athenian history, was confined exclusively to the lower city and to the suburbs, Peiraieus and Eleusis. Lykourgos, indeed, by his exceptional management as minister of finance, was able to find the means for dedicating new temple-furniture to Athena—golden Victories, new appliances of gold and silver for the processions, and so forth. So during the whole course of the iv century the Akropolis seems to have been the recipient of countless offerings bestowed in gratitude for honors received. Among these gifts the votive reliefs that were then becoming so popular were especially numerous; the offerings were for the most part small, for now the means of the people were small. But in addition to the reliefs, portraits in marble began to multiply. Beside the Perikles of Kresilas, soon stood those of the brave Iphikrates (371 B. C.), and other Athenians who had rendered their country especially great services. Konon, the hero of the sea, was the first Athenian since Harmodios and Aris-

¹⁴³ *CIA.* II, 61.

¹⁴⁴ DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XIV. p. 311.

¹⁴⁵ *Parth.*, p. 306.

togeiton to whom during life the honor of having his portrait-statue erected upon the citadel was accorded by the State; and on the same pedestal with his stood also the statue of his heroic son, Timotheos.¹⁴⁶ And still the different kinds of decoration at this time placed upon the Akropolis have not been exhausted. After his victory at the Granikos (334), Alexander sent from the booty, as a gift to the goddess who had once suffered so severely at the hands of the Persians, 300 full suits of Persian mail, from which twenty-six shields were selected and arranged upon the architrave of the Parthenon.¹⁴⁷

It was not until this period that the Akropolis was again desecrated, this time by the wild excesses of Demetrios Phalereus, who went so far as to take up his abode in the Parthenon (304). And this disgrace was scarcely past when the inhuman Lachares seized the Akropolis and appropriated to himself everything of value that he could use. But he was soon expelled, and happily, in his precipitous flight from Athens, he found it necessary, so the story goes, to leave the most of his plunder behind; among this was even the golden garment of the Parthenos (*sic*!), which he is said to have stolen.

In this period we must think of the Akropolis, however much it may offend our æsthetic taste, as an almost incredible forest of statues. In a single year no less than 360 statues of Demetrios were erected, of which a goodly number were probably upon the citadel.¹⁴⁸ Nearly all that was added to Athens in these years and those to follow, the city owed to the favor of foreign benefactors. We head the list with such names as Ptolemy Philadelphos and King Attalos I: from the latter came as a votive offering the series of plastic groups in the southeast corner of the Akropolis, continuing the thought embodied in the metopes of the Parthenon; the Gigantomachia, the victory of the Athenians over the Amazons, the rout of the Persians by the Athenians at Marathon, and, as

¹⁴⁶ PAUS. I, 24, 3; the inscription is still preserved *CIA. II: Κόνων Τιμοθ(έ)ου, Τιμόθεος Κόνω(νος)*; cf. MICHAELIS, *Mith. Athen I*, p. 298.

¹⁴⁷ The inscription that explained the dedication ran: 'Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντων. Cf. *ARR. An. I*, 16, 7; *PLUT. Alex.* 16; MICHAELIS, *Parth.*, pp. 42-3.

¹⁴⁸ Later they all disappeared with the exception of a single one, and that one remained upon the Akropolis. Cf. *DIOG. LAERT. V*, 76-77.

the last link in the chain of Hellenic glory, Attalos' own victory over the Gauls in 229. Then came Eumenes II, Attalos II, Antiochos IV (Epiphanes) and Antigonos, whose names scarcely need to be mentioned as lovers and benefactors of Athens.

When all this is considered, it ceases to be a matter for any wonder that Pausanias mentions so few of all those portrait-statues, votive offerings, etc., or that Polemon, even in that early day, already found material for four and Heliodoros for fifteen books concerning the Akropolis with its votive offerings. And soon the open space about the temples no longer sufficed for the gifts that were brought, and the very steps of the temples were occupied by statues and reliefs; and there, beside representations of a religious or mythological character, stood even portrait-statues as well, where they have left their traces unto this day.

XI.—THE AKROPOLIS IN ROMAN TIMES.

From Sulla to Hadrian there was little done in the way of public building or improvement in Athens, but there was also, happily, little injury done to what was there before. While the treasures of art in Corinth were taken without mercy and carried off to Rome, and the buildings of the city ruthlessly destroyed, the conquering Roman showed, generally speaking, great respect for the intellectual greatness and artistic significance of Athens and spared the public monuments. Even Sulla, when in the First Mithradatic War he had stormed the city, flooded her streets with blood and threatened her with utter annihilation, even Sulla allowed himself to be dissuaded by Roman senators and friends of Rome from carrying out his dreadful threat. And though his lieutenant, Gaius Scribonius Curio, blockaded the Athenian tyrant, Aristion, within the ancient fortress—for a fortress it still was, and a powerful one,—and finally by starving the garrison out got possession of the citadel, still the buildings upon the sacred rock and in the city proper remained untouched, at least by Roman hands. Not so, however, the Peiraieus. But the worst that Sulla did after the surrender of Aristion was to appropriate to his own use some fifty pounds of gold and 600 pounds of silver that he found in the opisthodomos of the Parthenon.

Nothing definite can be said in regard to the changes that took place upon the Akropolis in the stormy times from Sulla to the founding of the empire. Mad Antonius came and succeeded in wedding Athena (with a wedding present of 1,000,000 drachmæ from the still madder Athenians), and in having himself installed and worshipped as a new Dionysos, with Cleopatra as a new goddess of the citadel. Still such folly did no harm, and the Akropolis continued down to the vast and systematic art-robberies of Nero exempt from any serious losses.

Not only did the Romans spare the treasures of that holy hill, but they also now began to vie with other philhellenic foreigners in the effort to augment that splendid inheritance of the past by further offerings of their own. And then not only Akropolis, but city proper as well, became fairly crowded with honorary statues to Roman governors, prætors, and other Romans of quality who had in any wise shewn favor to the city. Among such monuments the equestrian statue of Octavian's great engineer, Agrippa, might especially be mentioned. It was erected about 27 B. C., and stood upon a pedestal 16.75 metres high, which still exists almost intact at the entrance of the Propylæia, and directly in front of the anta of the Pinakotheké¹⁴⁹ (see PL. xv).

In the first decades of the empire the demand for honorary statues became so great that the means at the city's disposal were far from sufficient to meet it. What was to be done? The Athenian people, to satisfy their Roman patrons, had recourse to the contemptible expedient of taking the statues of their fathers and of their gods and making them serve a new end.¹⁵⁰ A new inscription upon the old bases usually sufficed to transform a god or hero into an imperial Roman. But when this new christening failed to satisfy, then the heads of those perfect creations of a century long past must come off and make way for the portraits of the scions of proud Rome.

The most remarkable innovation upon the Akropolis, in imperial times, was the erection of a temple to Roma-Augustus. A

¹⁴⁹ The distance between pedestal and anta is not more than 1.50 metres.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. SIEBELIS, *ad.* PAUS. I, 2, 4.

Roma cult¹⁵¹ had existed in Athens for a century before the building of the temple, which probably took place about 15 B. C. It stood, as the excavations of 1887 disclosed, square in the axis of the Parthenon, and at a distance from it of only twenty-three metres to the east (see plan). Structural pieces of the building (among them the part of the architrave that bears the dedicatory inscription)¹⁵² lie close by and have long been known. These portions of the upper part, together with the recently discovered foundations, are sufficient to give us a pretty fair idea how the temple must have looked: it was, we observe, a circular building of white marble, surrounded by a colonnade of nine Ionic columns,¹⁵³ and similar to the Philippeion at Olympia, but much smaller; the diameter of the stylobate of the Roma temple measures only seven metres, while that of the Philippeion measures a very little more than twice as much; the number of columns also is exactly twice the number encircling the temple of Roma-Augustus.

Thus we find the Roman Empire and the Roman Emperor received into the sacred circle of the deities of the Akropolis; and as their temple stood exactly in the angle between the great temple and the great altar of Athena¹⁵⁴ (see PL. XV), the sacrifices offered to the Polias must at the same time also have been shared by Rome and the founder of the empire. The Panathenaica also belonged no longer exclusively to Athena, but was combined with the festival of the emperor; and so in everything, from that day on, Roma-Augustus appear upon the Akropolis as recognized rival of Athena Polias.

¹⁵¹ As a reward for her assistance in the Third Macedonian War, the Roman Senate had restored to Athens Haliartos, Delos and Lemnos. Delos especially was a valuable possession to the Athenians, and in recognition of their obligation to Rome, the Roma cult was instituted. The first unquestionable mention of an *ιερεὺς Ῥώμης* occurs about 100 B. C. The temple to Roma might have been erected then, but Athens was in those years too poor, so that the entire fulfilment of their obligations was postponed until the latter part of the first century before our era. Cf. WACHSMUTH, *Stadt Athen*. I, p. 641, note 1.

¹⁵² The inscription (*CIG.* I, 478) reads: 'Ο δῆμος θεῶν Ῥώμῃ καὶ Σεβάστῃ Καίσαρι στρατηγούντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας Παμμένους τοῦ Ζήνωνος Μαραθονίου, ἱερέως θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Σεβάστου Σωτήρος ἐπ' Ἀκροπόλει, ἐπὶ ἱερείας Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος Μεγίστης τῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀλαιῶς θυγατρὸς, ἐπὶ ἀρχόντος Ἀρήου τοῦ [Δ]ωρίωνος Παιανιεύς.

¹⁵³ Cf. DÖRPFELD, *Mitth. Athen*, XIV, p. 264.

¹⁵⁴ See p. 493.

Peculiar in its kind, at least in Greece, as well as in its splendor, as was the great marble staircase leading from the so called gate of Beulé¹⁵⁵ up to the Propylaea, still there is not a single trustworthy allusion in ancient literature from which we can infer, even approximately, the date of its construction. It is a matter for no surprise, therefore, that every possible variety of dates has been assigned to it, from Perikles down to Augustus,¹⁵⁶ and even to Nerio,¹⁵⁷ Duke of Athens, in the xv century. The spade, I think, has solved this much disputed question also. At any rate, it might have been clear before to the careful observer that the stairs were not built until after the erection of the monument of Agrippa, for the latter does not face the stairway, as it certainly would have done had it been set up subsequently to the building thereof. But in clearing up the space about Beulé's gate, it appeared that the towers that flanked the gate must have been built contemporaneously with the staircase; for both the courses of the buttress-walls that inclose the flight of stairs, and also those of the substructure beneath the steps themselves, are carried over into the horizontal courses of the towers.¹⁵⁸ For the towers, moreover, we already had from inscriptions¹⁵⁹ an approximate date—the first half of the first century of our era. Towers and stairway, however, are evidently older than Beulé's gate, and the older

¹⁵⁵ Beulé, who conducted the excavations made by the French government, discovered the gate in 1852, and from him it received its name.

¹⁵⁶ WACHSMUTH, *Stadt Athen*, I, p. 674: "It was perhaps under Augustus, and at his expense, that the colossal staircase was built. And yet," he cautiously adds, "it may owe its origin to one of the later Athens-loving emperors." BOHN, *Propylæen*, thinks "the destruction of the Mnesiklean approach must have begun with Sulla, so that thus 100 years later a new flight of stairs became necessary." Accordingly he assigns the year 88 A. D. as a probable date for its construction.

¹⁵⁷ BURNOUF, *La Ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 87: "*La porte découverte par ce savant (Beulé) n'existait pas au temps de Nério*" (xv century), and the reason he ascribes for this view is that the staircase lacks the character of ancient workmanship: the joinings are not exact, and there is a marked difference between this and the real Hellenic works upon the citadel.

¹⁵⁸ DÖRPFELD, *Mithth. Athen*, XIV, p. 120.

¹⁵⁹ (1) The dedicatory inscription (LEAKE, *Topogr. of Ath.* I, p. 306, note 1): ΦΛ. Σεπτιμιος Μαρκελλεῖνος Φλαμ[ήν] καὶ ἀπὸ ἀγωνοθετῶν, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, τοὺς πυλῶνας τῇ πόλει (i. e. Ἀκροπόλει). But Leake is in error in assigning the inscription to the beginning of the II century; it is, like the next, a product of the first. (2) The "gate-keepers" inscription with reference to the building of the stairway (ROSS, *Demien von Attika*, p. 36): ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἐγένετο.

threshold between the towers lay more than three feet higher than Beulé's. We know that this must be so for three reasons: (1) For a distance of three feet above the present threshold (Beulé's) the ashlar of the towers is left rough and unfinished; it was not intended to be seen. (2) Inside the gate the towers extended further inward, as the still existing foundations abundantly attest; and (3) the last four or five steps at the bottom of the flight are steeper than the rest and of different construction. These last four or five steps, then, were changed to suit the new gate, which, for some reason or other, was made to swing upon a threshold set a little deeper than the older one had been. Beulé's gate is, therefore, a later and probably stronger substitute for a gate that had been there before.

The next question is: when was the innovation of the *Porte Beulé* made? This also can now be established with comparative precision; for, as has long been known, the gate is built, in part at least, out of the choragic monument of Nikias. Now, if this latter originally stood at the northeast arc of the Odeion of Regilla (fig. 1), as Dörpfeld has all but proved, it was demonstrably pulled down when the Odeion was building. The foundations of the monument as undoubtedly found their way into the substructure of the Odeion, as the architrave with the inscription, the triglyphs and metopes found their way into the upper part of the gate, where they have remained unto this day. The theatre built by Herodes in honor of his wife, Regilla, was erected, as we know, between 160¹⁶⁰ and 177 A. D.,¹⁶¹ and the guidemarks of the architect of the gateway upon the cornice-pieces, to indicate the order of their succession in building,¹⁶² as well as the architectural style of the whole gateway and the inscriptions built into it—all of them earlier than Herodes Attikos—point to the same date.¹⁶³

With the foregoing demonstration we have won for the history of the Akropolis two facts of no little importance: (1) That the staircase from the hexastyle of the Propylaia down to Beulé's gate was formed, as it were, in one mould with the towers beside the gate, in the first half of the 1 century A. D.; and (2) that even the builders of the great flight of stairs did not as yet

¹⁶⁰ The year of Regilla's death.

¹⁶¹ The year of Herodes' death.

¹⁶² DÖRPFELD, *Mith. Athen*, xiv, pp. 63, sq.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

dare to leave the citadel unfortified, but felt themselves forced to surround their splendid stairway with wall and towers. The erection of Beulé's gate later on was simply to strengthen the old gateway in the defensory wall already there. The conclusion is unavoidable: even down into the times of the Roman Empire (until the last half of the II century A. D.), the Akropolis remained a great fortress, with a strong defensory wall.¹⁶⁴

With the building of the stairway the appearance of the court in front of the Propylaia was completely changed. The old winding road had disappeared, and the method of approach was now two-fold: that which was exclusively for foot-passengers led through Beulé's gate, and thence up the stairs. The stairway itself is divided into two sections by a landing that extends clear across the middle of the flight. Below the landing the flyers extended uninterruptedly across the whole breadth of the Akropolis; ¹⁶⁵ above they were broken into two parallel flights by the second method of approach, the road for horses and sacrificial animals, which came in directly from the south, through the entrance used until a few years ago, past the Nike bastion, passing then between the parallel flights of steps, and so through the central door of the Propylaia to the Akropolis itself.

In the course of this period Nero had come and carried away many of the priceless treasures of the Akropolis of Athens for the adornment of the Rome that was then rising from the ashes of his great bonfire. He had reduced art-robbery to a science and practised it extensively; and it was under his rule that Athens first suffered severe loss in works of art. But though Myron's cow and many other gems of the classical period wandered off to Rome to please the emperor, Athens still retained the most of her art treasures.

But Hadrian soon followed Nero, and with him came a revivification of art in Athens. "His coming," says Michaelis, "was a last bright ray of sunshine before the closing in of a dark and cheerless night." What Perikles had been to the Akropolis, Hadrian was to the city proper. But his monumental buildings and splendid works were confined to the lower city, and so we may pass him by.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ BOHN, *Propyläen*, p. 35.

Hadrian's example inspired a younger contemporary, Herodes Attikos, a great scholar and the possessor of almost unlimited means, to turn his favor to the university city. But, like his predecessor, he spent millions upon millions upon the lower city, while the Akropolis fortunately received nothing but a few statues in his honor.

In the later imperial times the increase in the number of architectural ornaments in Athens was very insignificant. But with statues of bronze and marble, Athens was filled as never before. With the last of the Antonines architectural activity in Athens ceases entirely. From now on the whole glory of Athens was her past. We have now to trace the destruction and disappearance of the beauty and splendor lent to the Akropolis by the preceding centuries.

At the close of the IV century,¹⁶⁶ the Goths under Alaric pushed into Greece and overran the country; but, in spite of all the disasters that overtook Attika at their hands, the glories of the Akropolis—the Parthenon and the Parthenos, the Promachos, the Erechtheion, and the Propylaia—still shone in all their pristine splendor. But with the changed attitude of the emperors toward heathendom, Athens was doomed to decline and decay.

XII.—THE AKROPOLIS IN BYZANTINE TIMES.

The Emperor Constantine the Great (314–353) was the first to spread Christian influence over all the Hellenic world with imperial power, and yet neither he nor his two great successors, Constantios II (353–361) and Julian (361–381), laid a destroying hand upon the art or architecture of Athens. On the contrary, all three were ardent friends of the city, and some of Constantine's officers, especially Cerbonius, spent large sums of money to repair damage that had been done either by the Goths or by the earthquake of 348.

But when Theodosios II (408–450) came to the throne, the Athenian horizon grew suddenly darker. The ancient paintings in the Stoa Poikile, executed by Polygnotos, and representing the glorious deeds of ancestral days, were the first objects to attract the envy and cupidity of the young emperor. About 430 the

¹⁶⁶ Alaric passed Thermopylæ in 395.

Parthenos is mentioned for the last time; ¹⁶⁷ and she probably disappeared soon after that date from the sacred shrine that for nine centuries she had guarded. In the v century the Christian Church at Athens, which had hitherto been very weak, seemed suddenly to rise in power and influence; and this probably made it easier for Theodosios II to carry out his wishes. Throughout his reign Athens was continually plundered to enrich Constantinople. Up to this time it had been exceptional for an ancient temple to be transformed into a church, and so it remains almost a matter of certainty that in the v century Christianity had not yet made its way into the temples of the Akropolis. But in the year 435 the order came from Emperor Theodosios II: *Cuncta fana templa, delubra destrui conlocationeque venerandæ Christianæ religionis signi expiari*.¹⁶⁸ Although we have no definite record in regard to the matter until 630, still it is safe to presume that it was not long after the promulgation of the edict that the Parthenon, Erechtheion, Chalkotheke, etc., were converted into Christian churches. In accordance with the then prevailing custom of dedicating the temple of a heathen god to that saint who was most nearly the counterpart of the pagan deity, the Parthenon, the shrine of the virgin goddess of wisdom, was turned over first to St. Sophia, and not long afterward to the Panagia—the Virgin Mary. In like manner the temple of the knightly Theseus became the church of St. George.

In the conversion of Greek temples into churches, the first care of the Christians was for the orientation of their place of worship, that the altar might stand at the east end. In the case of the Parthenon, in order to accomplish the desired end, it was necessary to cut a door through the western cella-wall, for there had been none there before, and in that way the west end became the front, and the opisthodomos the narthex of the new church. The old entrance would, of course, be entirely closed up by the building of the apse.

¹⁶⁷ The fanatical Neoplatonist, Proklos, tells how a beautiful woman appeared to him in a dream and bade him prepare his house, for the Queen of Athens wished to come and dwell with him. This was the token that she must soon leave her own house. And, as a matter of fact, the Christians soon afterward removed the statue from the Parthenon.

¹⁶⁸ *Cod. Theod.* xvi, 10, xxv.

The thought of the barbarous treatment suffered by ancient temples at the hands of the early Christians rouses the indignation of all lovers of Hellenic antiquities; and yet our pain at the defacement that we behold may be moderated by the consideration that, if these peerless temples had not been converted into churches, they might have been ruthlessly destroyed as monuments of idolatry, sharing the fate of many another building—like the Asklepieion—of which the Church could make no use. The pediments also did not remain untouched. Even in the earlier Byzantine times the Athena at least had disappeared from both pediments of the Parthenon, and in her place were substituted niches, presumably with representations of saints. The columns were used as a sort of church record; there are still to be found scratched upon the columns of the Parthenon notices recording the days on which the dignitaries of the church had died. The last date is 1190. Other inscriptions contain short ejaculatory prayers, texts, *etc.*—such as are to be found on the walls of the catacombs of Rome.¹⁶⁹

A period of almost total darkness, unbroken by the light of a single important notice concerning the Akropolis, begins with Justinian (527–565) and continues down to the latter part of the middle ages; even from that time on it is possible to trace out the history of but few buildings. Justinian, out of jealousy for the new academy at Constantinople, dealt the University of Athens its death-blow; Athens, as the educational centre of the world, consequently became a thing of the past. But as an art centre it still remained his lawful prey. The splendid church of St. Sophia at the Golden Horn was building, and to give it grace and beauty, Athens was plundered without limit. We are told that not only sculptures, but columns and building-material of all sorts were transported to the capital for that purpose, and that the classic buildings of Athens furnished a convenient quarry for Justinian's architects.¹⁷⁰

The veil of the dark ages then closes in about the city of monuments. The light of letters and science is extinguished; the workshop of the arts and of industry, the home of the Muses and of wisdom is now heard of only as a story and no longer sought

¹⁶⁹ MICHAELIS, *Der Parth.*, p. 52.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. HERTZBERG, *Athen*, p. 217.

by admiring strangers from all parts of the world: it has now become simply a Byzantine fort in a weak, declining land.¹⁷¹

XIII.—THE FRANKS IN ATHENS.

In 1204, while the crusaders under Enrico Dandolo, the great Doge of Venice, and the famous Margrave Bonifacio II of Montferrat were engaged about the Bosphoros, Sgouros of Nauplia arose and overran Middle Greece, captured Athens and burned it to the ground, but failed to get possession of the Akropolis. In the next year (1205) Bonifacio, now made King of Thessalonika, appeared in Athens with his victorious Burgundians and Lombards, and after no great struggle obtained possession of the Akropolis, plundered the churches, and then transformed them from orthodox into Roman Catholic churches.

Thus Attika and Bœotia came under the sway of the Burgundian Otto de la Roche-sur-Ougnon, who, as "Grand-Seignior of Athens" took up his residence upon the Akropolis. But of the changes made by the French dukes (1205–1311) or by the Catalans, who succeeded them (1311–1385), we know absolutely nothing. We are better informed, however, with regard to the operations of the Florentine dukes, to whom the Catalans in turn were forced to yield (1385). Under their dynasty Athens once more flourished. The first two Acciaiuoli took considerable pride in beautifying their city. They built upon the south wing of the Propylæia the mighty tower, which overlooked the whole Attic plain and the sea from Megara to Hydra and Cape Zoster.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ The only possible items of interest recorded up to the time of its occupation by the Franks are: (1) the visit of Basileios II, who, in token of his gratitude to the Holy Virgin for his victories over the Bulgarians, held a magnificent triumph upon the Akropolis and dedicated to Saint Mary and her cathedral (the Parthenon) a large number of precious offerings, among them a silver dove (the symbol of the Holy Ghost) that ever fluttered above the altar. And (2) we have a report concerning the great church upon the Akropolis coming to us by way of distant Iceland. A pilgrim, Saewulf, had journeyed thence to Athens, and he makes mention of an ever-burning lamp that hung in the church of the Madonna.

¹⁷² BOHN, *Prop.*, p. 7, ascribes the building of the tower not to the Franks but to the Turks; how a Turkish tower or a Turkish wall differs from a Frankish tower or a Frankish wall, unless it should happen to contain a contemporary inscription, I am unable to say, and so leave the question unanswered. HERTZBERG, *Athen*, pp. 102 and 226, ascribes it to the Burgundian dukes. This also is conceivable, but less probable; it is the Italian dukes of whom such constructions are so characteristic.

The tower filled the whole south wing; the middle hall and the Pinakotheke were turned to other uses; the intercolumniations were built up with walls containing two rows of windows, a floor was put in making two stories for executive offices; above the entablature was a third story for the dwelling, and in this wise the Propylaia was converted into a *palazzo à l' Italienne* in which the Acciaiuoli lived. They furthermore united the Nikepyrgos with the pedestal of the Agrippa monument by an immense defensory wall 7-8 metres thick, which at the same time served to support a fine terrace in front of the palace of the Duke and a battery on top. To make the defense complete another wall of the same sort was built between the monument of Agrippa and the corner of the Pinakotheke.

These fortifications again necessitated a change in the approach. In the days of Perikles, and before, the road wound up over different terraces to the Propylaia; in the times of the Roman Empire and for centuries after, people had climbed to the Akropolis by the splendid marble stairs; now again the ascent was arranged in winding curves; it led through a gate beside the pedestal of Agrippa, then turned sharply about to the south, passed around south of the great tower, through the last gate and over the forgotten sanctuary of the Graces¹⁷³ and the great Pelasgic wall, now for the first time demolished, into the Akropolis proper.

The whole Akropolis now reverted once more to its original purpose—that of a citadel. But it must be made to correspond with the new methods of warfare, and was accordingly fitted out with barracks, *chemins de ronde*, *terre-pleins* and underground galleries, with reservoirs and magazines, with walls provided with battlements and embrasures, and with batteries at every point. Kimon's wall, however, had not been built with modern engines of attack in view, nor was it calculated ever to defy gunpowder and iron balls. Now, it was in these very times that artillery began to play a considerable rôle as a means of attacking strongholds, and the old walls, neglected as they had been for centuries, were at many points in no condition long to resist a heavy cannonade of shot and shell. To meet this new need and make the wall bomb-proof, they doubled and even tripled its thickness.

¹⁷³ PAUS. I. 2.

These, after frequent repair, are the walls that strike the attention of the traveler to-day, especially on the south side of the Akropolis and in places on the north; they are built of small pieces of stone irregularly piled together with a vast amount of mortar and braced up with numerous buttresses. Here and there a piece of the modern wall has broken away revealing the massive, mortarless, ashlar wall of Kimon almost unscratched.

The Florentines built extensively upon and about the Akropolis, but they made sparing use of ancient materials. For the most part the material employed was taken from buildings of the Byzantine period.

Such was the condition of the Akropolis with the principal temples still practically uninjured, when in 1456 it passed into the hands of the Turks.

XIV.—THE AKROPOLIS UNDER THE TURKS.

The lawless condition of affairs that obtained at the court of the last of the Acciaiuoli in Athens made it a comparatively easy matter for Mohammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, to annex Athens to his kingdom. In 1456 his general, Omar, took possession of the lower city and in June, 1458, Franco II surrendered the Akropolis also. The Sultan himself soon afterward visited his new possessions and was so charmed with the beauty and splendor of the remains of the ancient days, that he treated the city, considering that he was a Turk, with great kindness. Disdar-Aga, to be sure, took up his residence upon the Akropolis; the Propylaia became his headquarters, the Erechtheion his harem, while, strange to say, the Parthenon was left to the Christians as their chief place of worship in the city. His subordinates covered the Akropolis with their miserable dwelling-houses; they extended the casemates for their cannon; they built the great wall on the southwest, through the gate in which until recently—it is now removed entirely—all visitors to the Akropolis had to pass, and strengthened the circuit wall of the citadel still further.

After the Sultan's first visit to Athens, the Parthenon was still retained as a Christian church. But when, two years later (1460), Mohammed returned from subjugating the Peloponnesos and

found the Athenians plotting against his rule, he not only removed the leaders of the conspiracy but also, to punish the rebels still further, converted the church into a mosque (1460). Fortunately, however, this was accomplished without causing much injury to the building. The first thing for the pious Mussulman to do was to cover up the detested pictures of saints upon the walls with a good heavy coat of whitewash; and then on the south side of the old opisthodomos they reared up—a most wonderful appendage to the massive proportions of the Doric temple!—a tall and slender minaret, and to afford access to it they cut in exceedingly rough and barbarous Turkish fashion a door in the west wall of the cella. A view of the Akropolis drawn in 1670, gives us a fairly complete view of the condition of the buildings at that time.

And then again for two more centuries Athens disappears almost totally from history. The Moslems kept exclusive possession of the Akropolis during all that time, and, with their dislike for any object of art, of how many priceless works of sculpture must their religious fanaticism have robbed us during those two centuries. And yet down to 1656 the Akropolis had still suffered no great catastrophe. We know that the Turks either from religious conviction or from downright depravity had long been active in defacing the sculptured monuments that lay near at hand; we know further that educated vandals from enlightened Europe in their very zeal for antiquities continued the work begun by the Mussulmans, for they carried away the smaller pieces of sculpture and scattered them all over the world and defaced those that they could not carry away, by breaking off small pieces—as a head from a metope or frieze—wherewith to enrich their collections at home. And yet, notwithstanding all these depredations of Christian and of Turk, the great buildings of the Akropolis still stood almost intact until 1656. On one unfortunate night in that year¹⁷⁴ lightning struck a heap of powder which Isouf-Aga, then in command of the fort, had piled up in the east portico of the Propylaia preparatory to bombarding on the morrow a little Greek chapel

¹⁷⁴ The date is given by SPON and WHEELER, *Voyage en Grèce, etc.*, II, p. 107; the explosion occurred twenty years before their account was written (1676), and thirty years before the explosion of the Parthenon (1687).

on the hillside opposite his palace. A frightful explosion followed, blowing Isouf-Aga into the air, but with him, less happily, a large part of the Propylaia. The whole architrave was shattered and with it the richly wrought ceiling also fell; two of the Ionic columns were entirely thrown down and the tops of all the rest. Even to-day as we gaze upon those broken and distorted columns we may read what fearful havoc that stroke of lightning worked.¹⁷⁵ The west portico, however, suffered less.

But now the mischief was only well begun. The really disastrous year was 1687. All the Peloponnesos had been swept by the flames of war; the victorious mercenaries under Francesco Morosini, afterward Doge of Venice, had wrested from the Turks one position after the other and were pressing on toward Athens. The Turks began to feel insecure even upon the Akropolis, and in order to intrench themselves more strongly in their citadel, they razed the little temple of Athena-Nike clear to the stylobate and built it block for block into new breastworks before the Propylaia, surmounted by six pieces of ordnance.

On the evening of the 21st of September of that year Morosini's fleet sailed into the Peiræus; on the morning of the 22d the batteries on the Museion and Nymphaion and the mortars on the Areiopagos and to the east were all ready, and their dreadful work of destruction was begun. But impatient that their progress in bombarding a fastness so mighty was necessarily so slow, they resolved upon a measure that should wipe the Akropolis for ever from the face of the earth—they would undermine it and blow the whole hill, with all its temples, into the air. But the work proved too formidable and was soon abandoned.¹⁷⁶ Not long afterward a deserter came over from the Turkish side and with the hope of deterring the enemy from their bombardment told them that they were in danger of blowing the splendid Parthenon to pieces, for in that, he said, the Turks had their powder magazine. The falsehood (for it was only a day's supply of powder that the Turks had heaped up in the cella of the Parthenon) was fatal; instead of ceasing their fire, the mortars were all turned upon one point—the Parthenon itself—but for a long

¹⁷⁵ BOHN, *Prop.*, p. 8.

¹⁷⁶ MICHAELIS, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 66, sq.

time, as if the guns refused to do their duty against such a mark, the firing was without effect.¹⁷⁷ Finally, however, at seven o'clock in the evening of the 26th of September, a German lieutenant in Morosini's army tried his hand at one of the eastern mortars and the unblest bomb fell through the roof of the Parthenon, directly into the heap of powder, and the masterpiece of Iktinos and Kallikrates, almost whole until that moment, was torn asunder. And this was not all, but the explosion caused a conflagration that for two days and nights raged among the houses of the Turks, bringing destruction and injury to the other temples there.¹⁷⁸ Such a price did Venice pay for six months' possession of the Akropolis of Athens.¹⁷⁹ How fortunate that less than three years previous Jean Jacques Carrey had come that way and made his invaluable drawings of the Parthenon sculptures!

After the capitulation of the garrison, the captors proceeded to select choice pieces of the marble sculptures to carry home as mementos of their glorious achievement. Morosini, recalling the fine bronze horses brought home by some predecessor to adorn St. Mark's, was seized with a desire to possess himself of those wonderful horses of Athena and Poseidon in the west pediment of the Parthenon and to take them as a trophy home to Venice. But through the deplorable carelessness of the workmen (they were sailors), the figures fell sixty feet down upon the rock and not merely broke in pieces, but "they went up in dust."¹⁸⁰ Losing these, the conquerer took instead the three huge lions that now stand guarding the entrance to the arsenal of the Queen of the Adriatic.

As soon as the Venetians were gone, the Turks at once resumed possession of the Akropolis. The Italians had set them an example of destruction on a gigantic scale, and if they had showed any mercy before, they now showed none; the colossal heap of ruins made by the explosion of the Parthenon, together with every other piece of white marble not too large to be easily moved, and if the fragment chanced to contain a relief or an in-

¹⁷⁷ CURTIUS, *Die Akropolis v. Athen*, p. 31.

¹⁷⁸ BOHN, *Prop.*, p. 8.

¹⁷⁹ CURTIUS, *Die Akropolis v. Athen*, p. 31.

¹⁸⁰ " *La poca accortezza di alcuni gli fe cadere, e si ruppero non solo ma si disfecero in polvere;*" from a letter written by a Venetian officer, who arrived in the Peiraieus on the 18th of December, 1687.

scription, so much the better—all this found its way into their limekilns in order to furnish mortar for repairing their miserable huts and the walls of their fort. And yet these same huts, again filling up the whole Akropolis, covered and saved many a precious fragment or important foundation that might otherwise have perished.

The minaret in the Parthenon still stood; the mosque was rebuilt and the work of destruction went steadily on. The havoc wrought by ignorance, wantonness and religious fanaticism on the part of the Turks among the relics of antiquity was again increased by the covetousness of the educated foreigners who now began once more in greater numbers to visit Athens. Their desire for choice bits of sculpture inspired the Turks with a new motive to more extensive devastations—a chance to make money. For more than a century the plundering and destruction continued, and it is a wonder that anything was saved. Only the boundless wealth of the Akropolis in treasures of marble can possibly account for the fact that all did not perish. As early as 1749, when Dalton made his drawings of the Akropolis, not half of the figures belonging to the pediments of the Parthenon were in their place; some he found in fragments, others thrown down but well preserved, while many had already disappeared entirely. Under these circumstances it was scarcely an act of plunder or destruction that Lord Elgin committed, when in the first years of our century he removed the greater part of the Parthenon sculptures from Athens and in that way saved them for us from the destructive mania of the Turk, the vandalism of later travelers and the dangers of war. It was also far from being a theft, as it is often called even now. For after having worked in 1800 and 1801 against the greatest conceivable difficulties in making casts and drawings of the remains of sculpture and architecture upon the Akropolis, he then received from the Sublime Porte a firman, in accordance with which he was granted permission “to go in and out of the Akropolis at will, to excavate, to build scaffolding, mould and measure as he pleased; and if he wished to take away a few blocks of stone with inscriptions or figures upon them, nothing should stand in the way of his doing so.” With this grant he collected figures from the pediments, metopes, blocks

of frieze, and sculptures of every sort, sent them off to England and so preserved them from the certain destruction with which they were threatened. For that he has our thanks. But in one respect he, or rather his workmen (for he himself was seldom present in Athens while the work was going on), will always deserve severest condemnation, in that the buildings were often barbarously and inexcusably mutilated in taking down the desired pieces of sculpture. Portions of the roof and cornice of the Parthenon were torn off, let fall and broken to atoms in order to remove the metopes; one of the Caryatids was torn out from the porch of the Erechtheion with such brutal violence, that both the architrave and the lacunaria of the ceiling fell with a crash and were ruined.¹⁸¹

The rescue was accomplished none too soon; for in the year 1821 the War for Grecian Independence broke out, and Attika was the scene of many a bitter struggle. In the second year of the war the great Odysseus built above the Klepsydra a mighty bastion—now removed—the last military construction built upon the Akropolis. Still, for several years more Athens was spared. At length, bringing destruction with it, came that last long siege of the citadel of Athens, from July, 1826, to June, 1827. The Turkish cannon proved no less destructive than the Venetian. Bombs and shot of every description shattered the sculptures that were still in place and shivered the standing pillars. Especially unfortunate were the bombs that struck the two northwest columns of the Erechtheion and precipitated a part of the elaborate ceiling of the porch.

From the 5th of June, 1827, until the spring of 1833, while the seat of the new national government was at Nauplia, the Turks remained stolidly in possession of the Akropolis. But when the seat of government was transferred from Nauplia to Athens in 1833, they had to make way for the Bavarian garrison that accompanied King Otho from Munich. This event marked the end of the destruction of antiquities in Athens, and with it the Akropolis for ever ceases to be a citadel.

¹⁸¹ For the details see MICHAELIS, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 74-87.

XV.—FROM THE GREEK REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT.

We have now seen how the Akropolis grew, from a jagged rock to an inexpugnable fortress, and from a fortress to a shrine of surpassing splendor; then we have seen how it fell into ruin and decay. Now comes the time when the monuments of antiquity are rescued from the débris, from their covering of Byzantine, Frankish and Turkish buildings and walls, and when ancient Athens is more clearly restored to our admiring eyes. While excavations on a small scale were occasionally instituted even in the earlier years of this century, especially by that zealous collector of antiquities, the French Vice-Consul, Fauvel, still the epoch of important systematic excavations dates from the time when Athens was made the capital of the new-made kingdom and Peiræus again fitted out as its port.¹⁸²

The first real work of excavating began at once in May, 1833; with a modest sum raised by private subscription the first small clearing was made beside the Parthenon. In the next year the work was resumed, this time at the public expense, under the direction of the architect Klenze, of Munich, but without any particular results.¹⁸² We owe Klenze our thanks principally for what he failed to do; his most fondly cherished plan was to erect upon the Akropolis the royal palace of King Otho, and to the king himself belongs the credit of defeating the scheme.

It was not until January, 1835, that the government itself took up the work on a large scale and according to a systematic plan, and prosecuted it with wonderful success after Ludwig Ross, as Conservator-in-chief of Antiquities in Athens, in conjunction with the architects Schaubert and Hansen, was put in charge of the work of exploration and restoration. They began with the removal of the works of fortification and other modern buildings, continuing also the excavations about the Parthenon, which was then buried up to the second step in the débris of centuries.¹⁸²

Besides a large number of bases of votive offerings, inscriptions, and other smaller monuments, they discovered in that year (1835-6) considerable remains of the Parthenon sculptures—from pediments, frieze and metopes; the west front of the Propylæa was

¹⁸² MICHAELIS, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 88 sq.; WACHSMUTH, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 23 sq.

cleared up, and above all nearly every piece of the Nike temple was found and the temple reconstructed part for part, except the roof, upon its old foundations.

Scarcely had this valuable service been rendered when Ross was superseded by the untrustworthy Pittakis. Under his direction the work about the Propylaia was finished (1837), and the foundations of the Erechtheion laid bare (1838-40). In 1842 the old mosque in the Parthenon, restored in 1688 after the explosion, collapsed and was all removed except the lower part of the minaret, which was taken down in 1889.

The Bavarian administration thereupon gave up further prosecution of the task. But the world could not suffer it to rest in a state so far from completion. The credit of having continued the excavations belongs to the French government. In 1852 under the supervision of M. Beulé, at that time a member of the French School at Athens, the Roman stairway and the gate that bears his name were freed from the immense Turkish and Venetian bastions built upon them.

After the French had ceased operations there came a Prussian expedition led by Adolf Bötticher; they directed their energies to pulling down the Byzantine apse in the pronaos of the Parthenon and to removing the rubbish that Pittakis had left in and about the Erechtheion. The results of his investigations are given in detail by Bötticher himself in his "*Akropolis von Athen*."

Only two more agencies have since contributed to the completion of the work upon the Akropolis. The next after the French and Prussians was the 'Εταιρία 'Αρχαιολογική, the "Archæological Society of Greece;" this society, at first generously supplied with funds by Dr. Schliemann, carried on the excavations until we could get a fairly complete notion of the post-Periklean Akropolis. In 1876 even the old tower upon the south wing of the Propylaia was taken down in the hope of new discoveries.

It was then thought that every corner, every pile of earth and rubbish had been examined and that the Akropolis contained but little that was hidden from sight. And yet the explorations of the Greek government and the Archæological Society, carried on from 1885 to 1889, have been richer in results than almost any other excavations that might be named, and they are at the

same time more complete, for we know now to a certainty that the spade can reveal nothing new within the walls of the Akropolis. Excepting where the ancient buildings stand, the whole surface of the Akropolis down to the natural rock has been moved and minutely examined. These new excavations have not only brought to light a vast number of statues, inscriptions, bronzes, terracottas, remains of great buildings, *etc.*, and have given us much new information concerning the age of Perikles, but they have also thrown upon the condition of the pre-Persian Akropolis, with its palace and shrines, and even upon its natural form, such a flood of light as we had never hoped to see.

We have looked upon a picture of perfect beauty and then upon another of that beauty's destruction and decay; and at the end, as at the beginning, Athens is and always will be the Mecca toward which every friend of ancient art will turn. And if in the dazzling light of that southern sun it brings a feeling of pain and sadness to look upon the desolation wrought by the hand of man upon those divine creations of man's hand, and if it is impossible to imagine from the few, shattered fragments before us what the whole must have been, let us wait till nightfall. Who that has ever stepped out from the Propylaia upon the inner Akropolis with the full moon hanging in the sky can forget the impression made upon his soul! The vast proportions then are realized; the world of ruins round about is animated with life; the awakened fancy fills up all gaps and covers over every defacement; the sanctuary of Athena and Erechtheus small and serene in the moonlight shows all its ancient elegance; and above it rises majestically the imposing Parthenon with its forest of pillars. The gods return from the Hyperboreans and take their places again in the pediments. We forget the Christians and the Turks, the Venetians and Lord Elgin, and with beating hearts we bow in silent admiration before the consummate art which created that harmonious whole.¹⁸⁵

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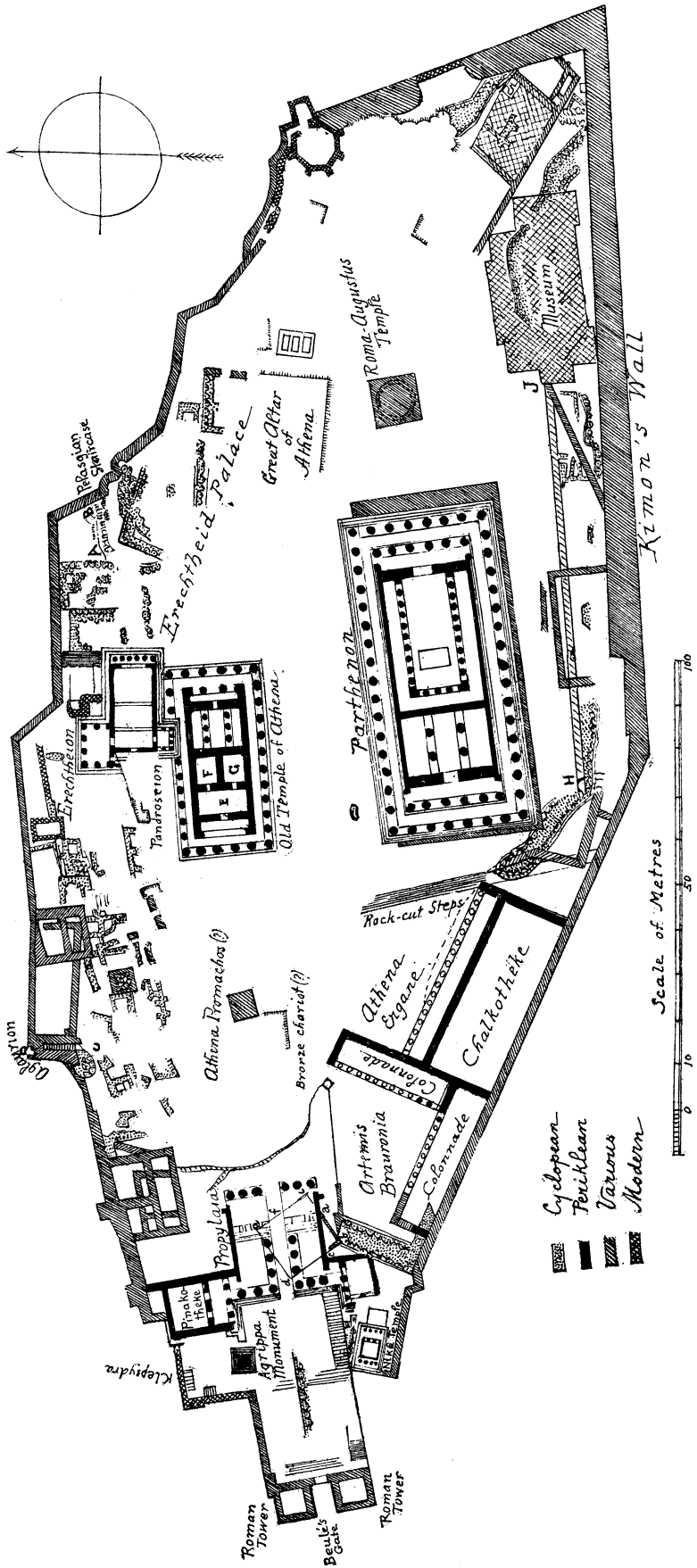
¹⁸⁵ Cf. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 91.

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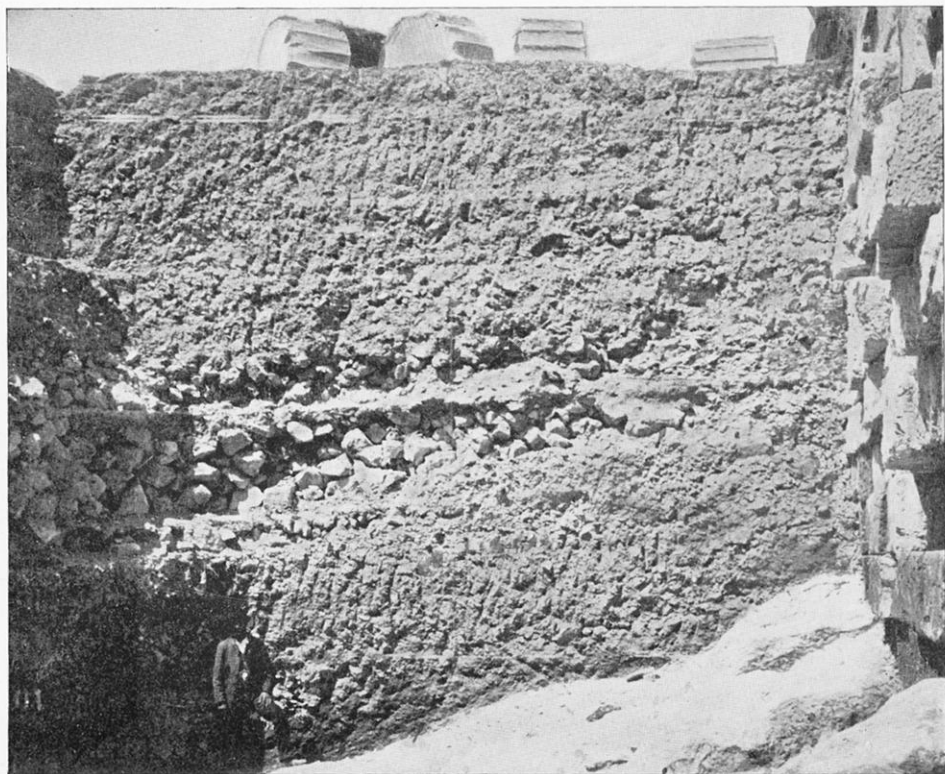
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* Appeared since the foregoing article was completed.



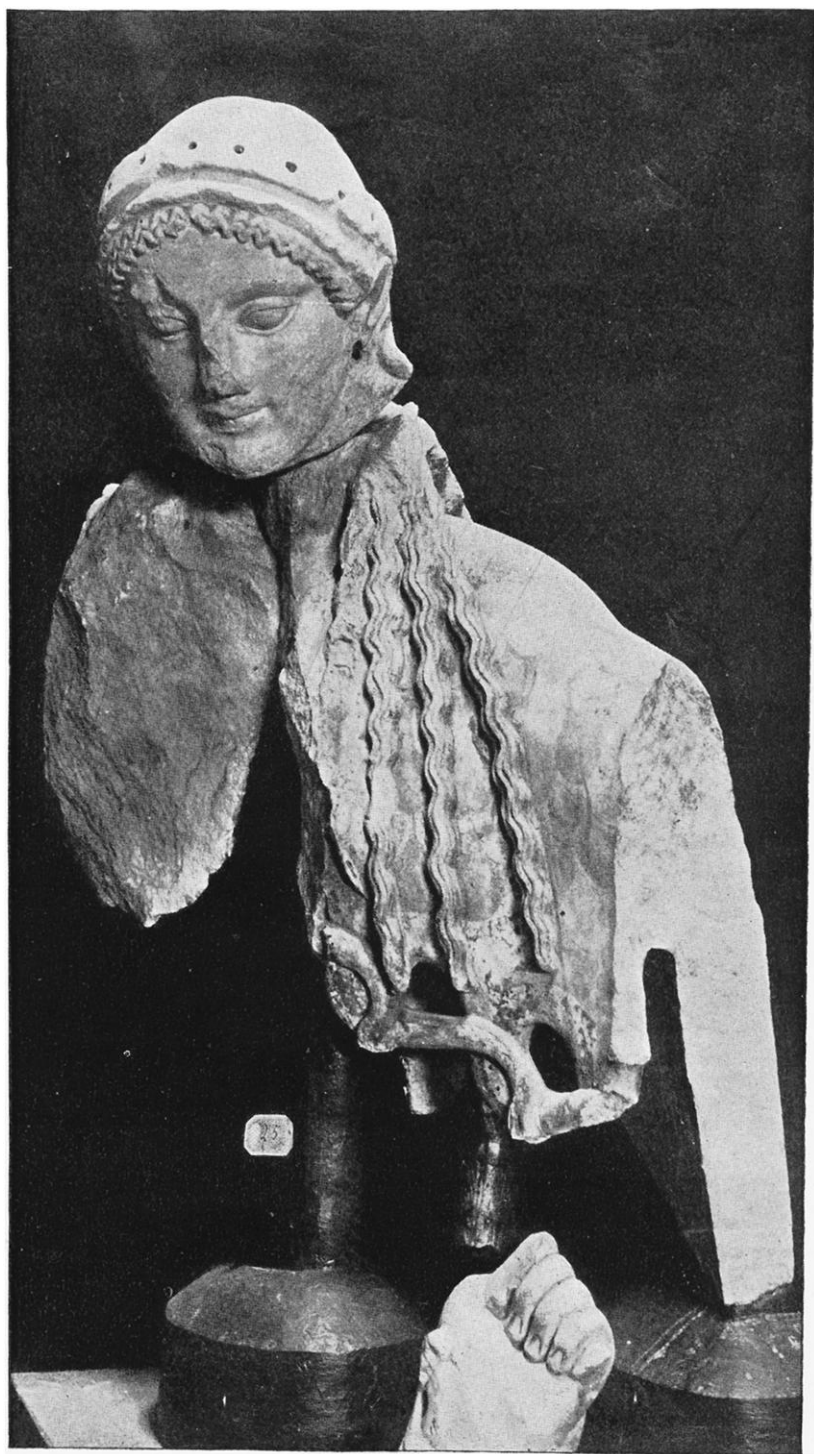
PLAN OF THE AKROPOLIS, ATHENS.



AKROPOLIS. EXCAVATIONS NEAR THE NORTH WALL.



STRUGGLE OF HERAKLES WITH THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA.



ATHENA FROM THE PEISISTRATIC GABLE.